

IN THESE TIMES



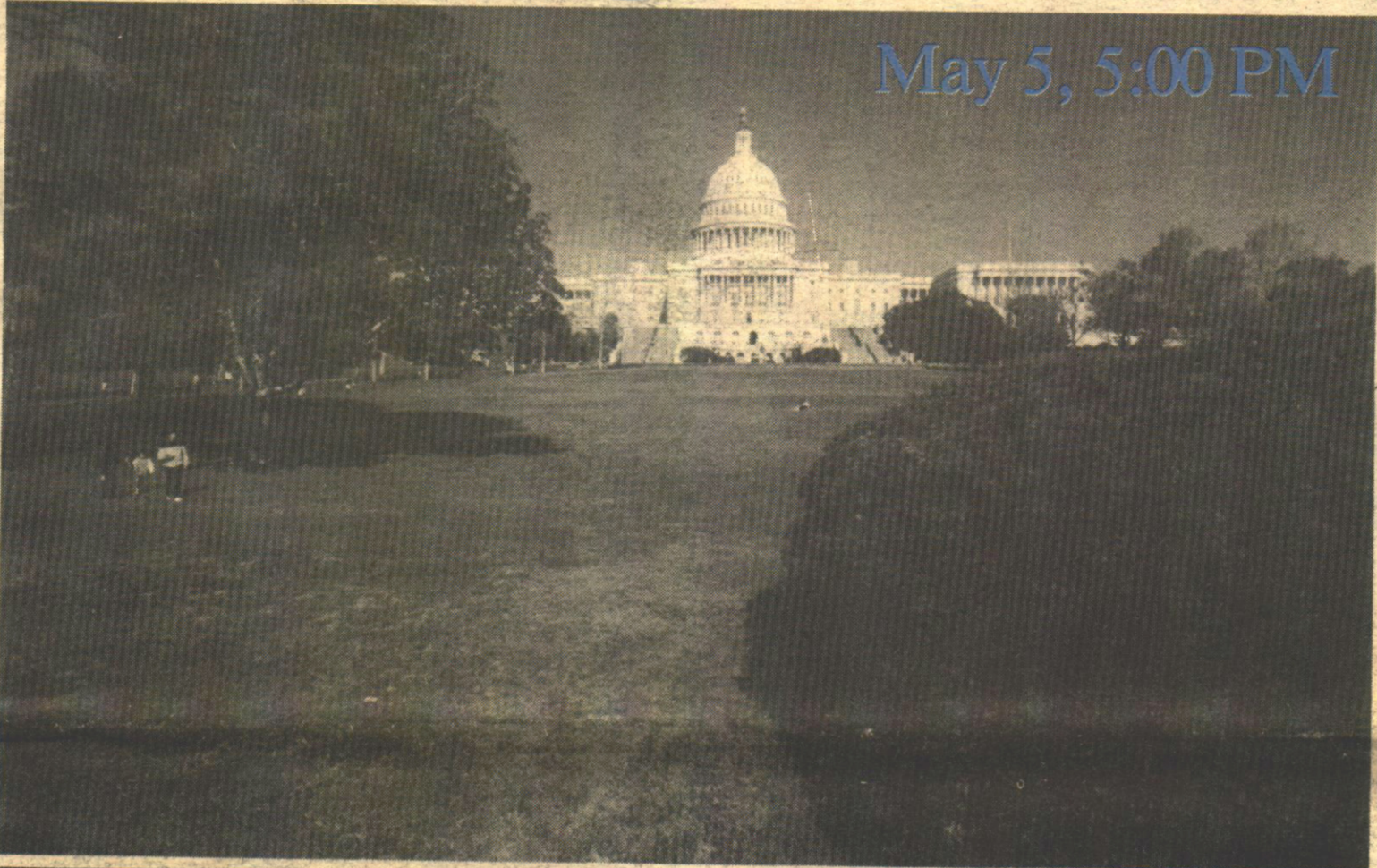
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talks to
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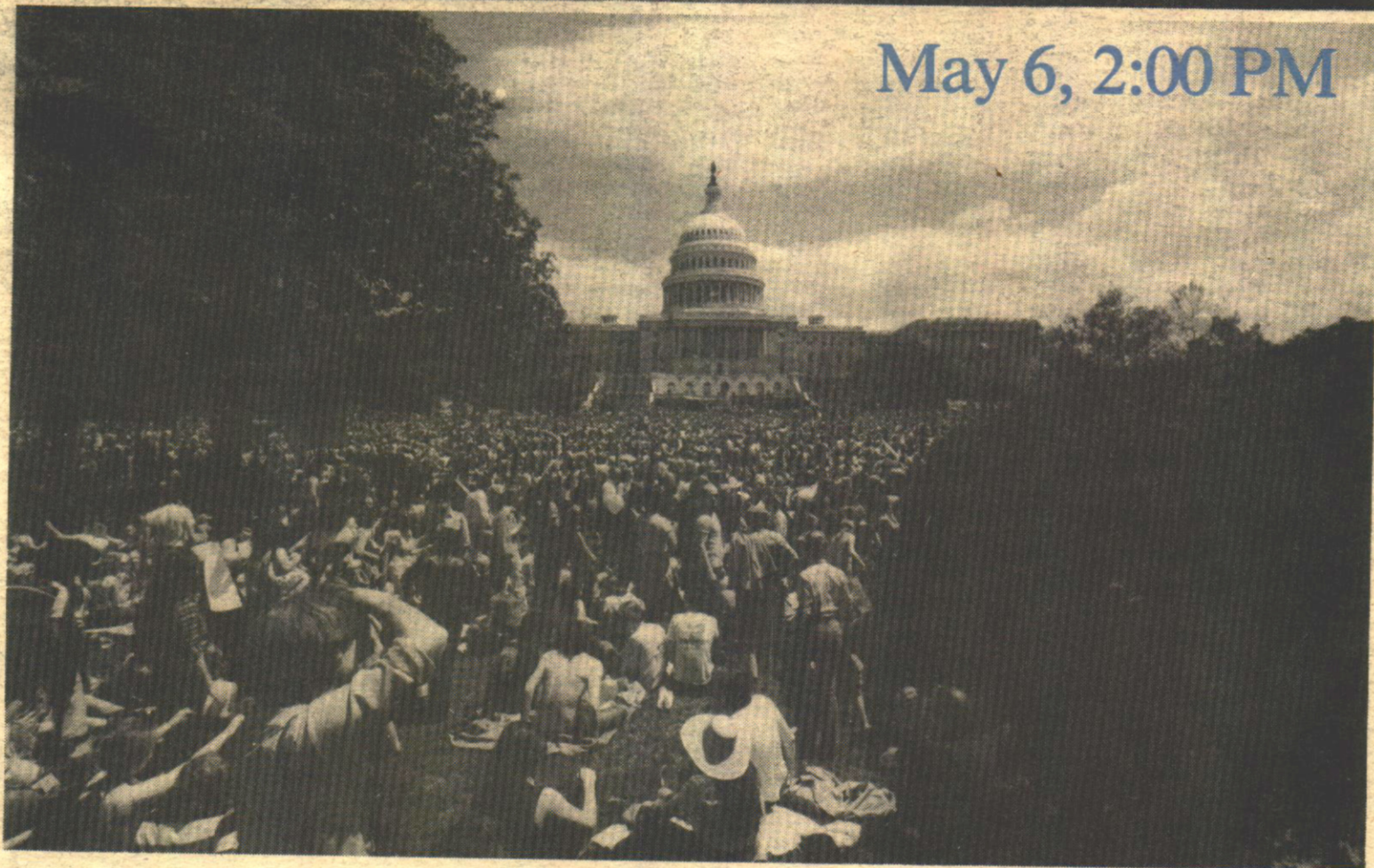
May 16-22, 1979

70 Cents

Washington, D.C.



May 5, 5:00 PM



May 6, 2:00 PM

NO NUKES!

Photos by Richard Stromberg

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THE INSIDE STORY



Steve Kagan

Carter worsens energy crisis with AMTRAK cuts

By Patrick Lacefield

Environmentalists and mineral magnates, Republicans and Democrats, rural folks and city slickers agree. Conservatives Barry Goldwater and Robert Byrd close ranks with liberals like Patrick Leahy and Max Baucus. And in the face of widespread public hostility to government spending, Capitol Hill offices are being deluged with letters, mailgrams and petitions calling for increased public spending in this area.

Why then, you may well ask, is the Carter administration intent on eliminating 43 percent of the passenger miles served by Amtrak? What is the administration's rationale for rail cutbacks in the face of the energy crisis? Why do rail passenger advocates warn that this move may be the beginning of the end of rail travel in the U.S.?

Either house of Congress has until May 15 to modify or disapprove a Department of Transportation plan mandating sharp cutbacks in the deficit-ridden Amtrak system. The Department of Transportation plan stems from a request from Congress last year for submission of a proposed route system by Jan. 1, 1979. In the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1978, Congress officially recognized the reality of rail passenger service by eliminating the requirement that Amtrak be a profit-making corporation and—more significantly—instructed the DOT to consider more than merely profits and losses in evaluating the utility of any given route.

The DOT plan that emerged seemed to some more nearly dictated by President Carter's tight-fisted fiscal restraints than by social criteria advanced by Congress. Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams "improved Amtrak route system" presented to a Senate Commerce subcommittee last month, would eliminate 43 percent of Amtrak's 26,000 route miles, eliminating more than 230 communities presently receiving rail service (including Dallas, Indianapolis, Columbus, Nashville and Atlanta) and cutting back on service to over 400 more. Far from slashing only the long-distance intercontinental routes where unit costs are higher, Adams would also axe the Montrealer (Washington-New York-Montreal) and the Southern Crescent (Eastern Corridor-New Orleans) and reduce the frequency of trains on several other heavily-traveled routes. Both the Montrealer and Southern Crescent have recorded dramatic increases in ridership over the last year.

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Destroying rail service?

"We're looking at step one of a three or four part scheme to eliminate passenger rail service," insists Barry Williams, assistant director of the National Association of Railroad Passengers, a non-profit consumer organization. Williams sees the growing Amtrak operating deficit (\$153 million in 1973, \$587 million in 1978) as a drop in the bucket. "Government expenditure for Amtrak is only two percent of all transportation spending," he argues, pointing to the subsidies lavished by the federal government on automobile and air transport.

While Secretary Adams has criticized Amtrak's low prices, under which riders paid only an estimated 37 percent of the full cost of the trip and urged that it aim for 50 percent share by 1985, Amtrak supporters cite a study by former Transportation Secretary William Coleman showing that airline passengers pay only a third of the cost of an average plane trip, thanks to federal subsidies. James Snyder, legislative director of the United Transportation Union, which represents at least half the 5,800 workers slated for layoffs under the DOT plan, makes a more striking comparison. "The U.S. government, through the World Bank, pours more money into foreign railroads last year—\$4.1 billion—than it did into domestic rail service," he told **IN THESE TIMES**.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, interests hostile to rail passenger service are using their clout to convince Congress that Amtrak is a white elephant—covered with red ink. Williams of the Passengers Association suspects that monies from bus companies, Amtrak's competitors, are behind the National Taxpayers' Union campaign for the DOT plan. Rail interests, chafing at having to share their tracks with Amtrak and with a long record of harassment of the passenger rail service from its inception over right-of-way and other disputes, also are supporting Adams' proposal.

"What we have to realize," remarks Williams, "is that fixed maintenance costs are such that Adams' 43 percent cutback will save only 11 percent in costs (an estimated \$1.4 billion over five years) and, by reducing frequency and on-board service, hiking fares, and eliminating connecting trains, will produce an even larger deficit. Next year, the DOT will come to Congress with a sadder story and soon all we'll have left of Amtrak is the Eastern Corridor routes."

Congressional opinion.

On Capitol Hill there are those who take issue with the gloomy predictions of Williams' NARRP and the rail worker brotherhoods. An aide to Sen. Warren Magnuson, chair of the Senate Commerce Committee soon to pass judgment on the DOT plan, argues that "unless we cut back the growing federal subsidy, the system will go under. The good routes will be dragged down by the bad ones. Besides," reasoned the aide, "at least Adams can't be accused of favoritism since he's recommending discontinuation of four of the six trains running through his home state of Washington."

The energy crisis is the ace-in-the-hole of Amtrak supporters. Modern passenger trains (meaning Amtrak plus modernized rolling stock and improved roadbeds) average 125 passenger miles per gallon of gasoline, about the same as buses, two and a half times the rate for automobiles and nearly six times the rate for airplanes. In his testimony before the House subcommittee, NARRP executive director Ross Capon indicated that in the event of a 5 percent gasoline shortfall, Amtrak could handle 15 percent of those forced out of the automobile. Under the DOT constrictions and if Brock Adams has his way, says Capon, "Amtrak will be irrelevant to the energy crisis."

Polls by Peter Hart Associates for the DOT indicate that 52 percent of Americans want to continue present passenger service while 20 percent would end most service. A survey by Louis Harris for Amtrak revealed 82 percent backing for maintaining or increasing passenger rail service. Growing train ridership is the trend where good service is provided (as on the Los Angeles to San Diego route where ridership is up 142 percent in the past four years and the New York to Florida run where Amtrak turned down over 5,000 reservation requests the first week of February alone). During the last energy crisis in 1974 Amtrak ridership increased 46 percent.

On May 1, the House Commerce subcommittee, chaired by Rep. James Florio (D-NJ), substantially revised DOT's proposal and increased funding levels for the Amtrak system. The committee's two criteria for discontinuing service were: routes must not carry a short-term avoidable loss exceeding 7 cents a mile and ridership on a given route must be over 150 passenger miles per train mile.

This revision, dubbed a "happy compromise" by an aide to Rep. James Jeffords (R-VT) because it "strengthens the system, squeezes more service from every dollar," would seem to save the Montrealer, one of the two Florida trains slated for elimination, and the Inter-American (if its route is slightly altered) to serve larger Texas population centers. More uncertain is the Southern Crescent, whose run from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans falls just short of the criteria.

The subcommittee recognized that the DOT report ignored certain trends toward increased ridership and reduced losses and Rep. Florio speculated that the traveling public could assist in warding off other cutbacks by utilizing endangered routes before the cutoff point of October 1979.

Though the revisions were unanimously adopted by the subcommittee, objections will still be raised in the full committee and on the floor of the House and Senate by those favoring total disapproval of the DOT plan, according to sources on Capitol Hill.

Labor Dept. cuts pubs

Two publications of the Department of Labor were scuttled by budget cuts late last year under a directive of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

The periodicals, *Worklife* and *Job Safety and Health*, however, seem to have been singled out not so much for their uselessness as for their potentially irritating nature as advocates for working people.

Sources at both periodicals expressed shock over the cuts. They were seen as sudden and arbitrary moves with no recourse offered.

Worklife, with a subscription list of over 7,000 at \$15 a year and a circulation of 26,000, went to all prime sponsors funded by the controversial Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and other job-related agencies. The purpose of the magazine was to report on "How the taxpayers' money was spent," said a source close to the late publication. "*Worklife* was the only magazine devoted solely to the employment and training programs of the government," continued the source. "The absence of *Worklife* will create a void which will need to be filled."

Job Safety and Health followed OSHA regulations and was aimed at an audience of labor people whose natural concern is safety in the workplace. With a circulation of 22,000, half of it paid at \$14 yearly, it was the only government periodical concerned exclusively with safety regulations.

—A. Lin Neumann

IN THESE TIMES

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Marcelo Montecino

100,000 say, "Shut 'em down!"

Carter rejects demand

President Carter took advantage of a brief meeting with representatives of the May 6 Coalition to issue a statement that shutting down all nuclear reactors would be "out of the question." The statement was made immediately before hearing what organizers of the massive march on the Capitol wanted him to do.

Labeled as a "photo opportunity" the statement was made to those representatives of the press who maintained permanent personnel in the White House Press Office—and thus were available within three minutes. It was aired on the national networks as though it were Carter's response to demands from the May 6 Coalition. Press were ushered out of the room before the actual meeting began.

The Coalition had invited Carter to the Sunday rally, but the White House declined the opportunity to present its position on the use of nuclear energy to the marchers. Instead, a staff assistant called march co-ordinator Don Ross Monday morning to invite him and other representatives to meet with the President and staff.

In addition to Ross, those attending were Pam Lippe of the Friends of the Earth, Harriet Barlow of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, Becky Hardy of Palmetto Alliance, Tom Campbell of the Pacific Alliance, and Sam Lovejoy of the Clamshell Alliance.

During the 25-minute meeting with the President that followed the "photo opportunity," May 6 representatives did not ask for immediate closing of all nuclear reactors as implied by Carter's public statement. Instead they requested that no new reactors be opened and existing reactors be phased out as soon as feasible.

According to Ross, Carter's response was that these actions were out of his hands. He repeated those of his policies that were anti-nuclear, and said Congress was thwarting any actions.

Harriet Barlow said the group unsuccessfully tried to get a commitment from the President to pursue actions that did not require Congressional approval, such as firing Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, and requesting the Attorney General to argue an anti-nuclear position before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission when new plants required licensing. President Carter was also asked to use the prestige of the Presidency to speak out about the dangers of nuclear reactors in order to discourage further development. The President's reply was that he should be judged by his record.

—Jo Freeman

By Joanna Foley

RALPH NADER HAS CERTAINLY come a long way," a woman shielding her eyes from the hot sun in front of the Capitol said, almost under her breath. Followers of Nader agreed. It was the best speech they ever heard him deliver, they said. "He is learning movement style," a veteran of the anti-war movement said.

It was not lost on the crowd that Nader was not only a key speaker but had been a key organizer. "Nader hasn't been willing to go into the streets before this," Bob Moore of the Mobilization for Survival told in *THESE TIMES*. "This demonstration represents a big step for him and his constituency."

Ralph Nader isn't the only one who went into the streets for the first time on Sunday, May 6. Among the 100,000 demonstrators who marched down a balmy, sun-drenched Pennsylvania Avenue shouting "No nukes, shut 'em down!" were many who had never taken part in any political activities.

Young people, high school and college students, laid down on the lawn across from the Capitol steps at the end of the march, brought out their bottles and lit up their joints and listened to the speeches, perhaps for the first time in their lives exposed to such talk.

There were other newcomers. Typical was a mother of three from Goldsboro, Pa., a town three miles from Three Mile Island. "The plant was just there and I never thought much about it before," the

Continued on page 6.



Richard Stromberg

15,000 marchers from Harrisburg lead the march to the Capitol.

Old hands, fresh faces

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

BEHIND THE HUNDRED THOUSAND people who marched down Pennsylvania Avenue on May 6 were several hundred volunteers who donated enormous amounts of time, expertise, money and personal equipment to make the government aware that they were angry. Only some of these volunteers were veterans of the '60s, and most of those had been foot soldiers, not organizers, of previous protest marches. They brought out a record number of people in only four weeks.

They included such people as Denny May, 32, a handyman and carpenter from North Carolina who has been researching nuclear power for several years and is currently preparing a booklet on its pros and cons to be used in the public schools. He came to Washington after the Three Mile Island incident when Betsy Taylor of the Nuclear Information Center asked him to help with the barrage of phone calls the Center was now receiving. He stayed to organize over 750 volunteers

who did the phoning, mailing and leafletting in preparation for the march.

"The real answer to the energy problem today is conservation," May said. "If we shut down nuclear plants it will mean an altered life-style for Americans that most will be reluctant to make. To do it we need strong national leadership, and increased research into the use of solar power."

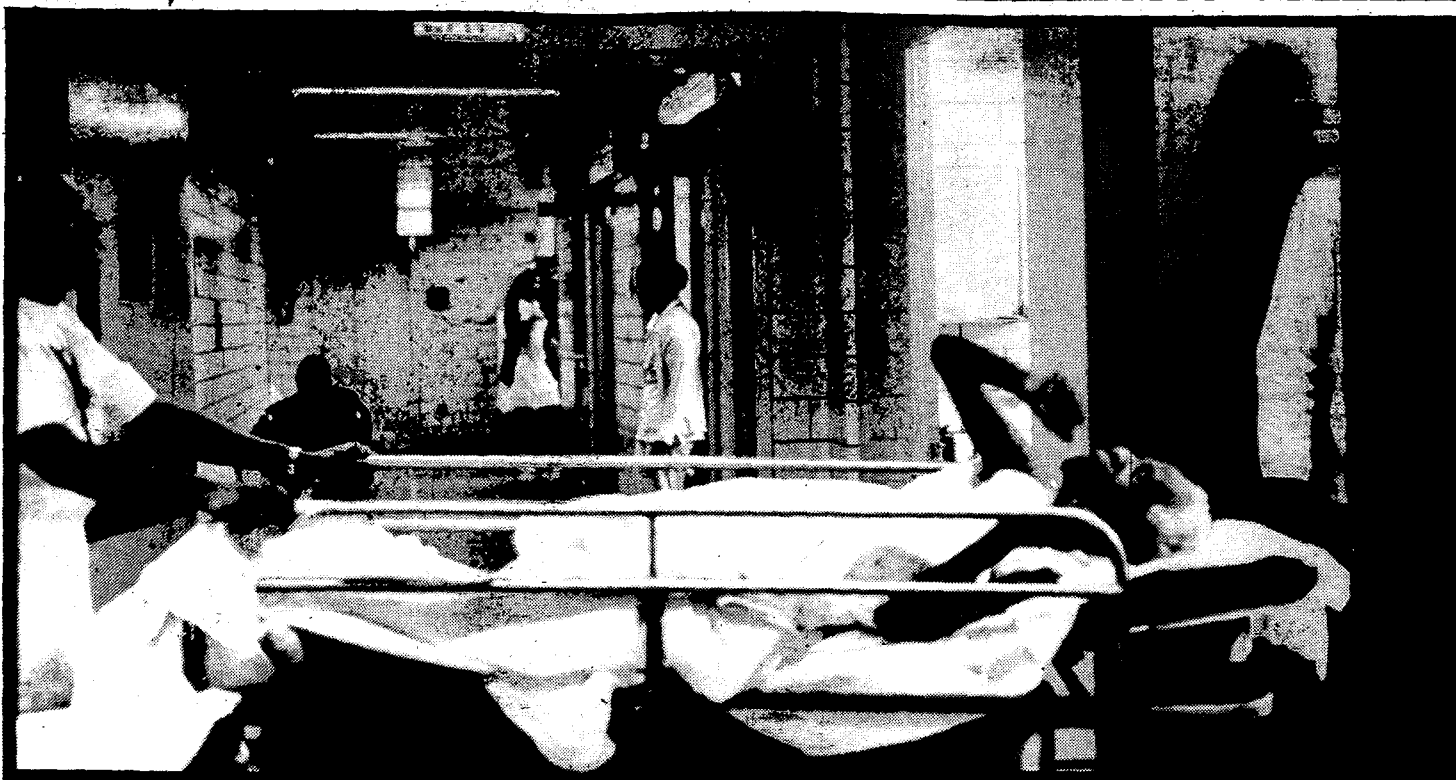
Jill Greenbaum, 35, a lobbyist for the National Taxpayers Union by day and a "do anything necessary" for the Coalition the rest of the time, doesn't think cutting back will be necessary. But she does agree that "solar is the way to go." In fact, she said, "we could be there by now if we hadn't chosen to put all our money into nuclear over 20 years ago."

Greenbaum stated that while some current plants might have to be kept operating, nuclear plants are not only dangerous, but economically unfeasible. That's why "the corporations are trying to get out. They no longer feel nuclear is a good investment—or wouldn't if they didn't get so much federal money."

Although she has lived with this issue "so long that my nine-year-old daughter

Continued on Page 6.

IN SHORT



Patient care is still good, despite cutbacks, at Harlem Hospitals' emergency room.

Hospital workers demonstrate

NEW YORK—Chanting "We're all fired up, we can't take it any more," 7,000 spirited protesters encircled New York's City Hall on May Day in the first major public protest to Mayor Edward Koch's proposed dismantling of the city's municipal hospital system.

Organized primarily by District Council 37 of the American Federal, State and County Municipal Employees Union, a coalition of more than 80 community, civic, and political groups joined the demonstration.

Lillian Roberts, Associate Director of D.C. 37, called the protest a "historic occasion" since it brought together "the community and workers" for the first time. As she spoke, someone shouted, "the workers are the community."

With 35,000 members of District 37 working for New York City's Health and Hospital Corporation, the issue of the hospital closings has become one of Mayor Koch's major political crises since taking office 16 months ago. Two months ago, his \$1-a-year health adviser, the architect of the dismantling program, was forced out over charges of conflict of interest.

Most of the demonstrators were black or Hispanic. Among those Health and Hospitals Corporation workers who staff the municipal hospitals, 68 percent are minority members.

The hospital protest drew considerably fewer marchers than its organizers had hoped, despite the beautiful spring sunshine, and the reportedly \$70,000 spent to publicize it. According to one source, at least this much was spent, primarily on newspaper and radio advertising. Union officials, however, said they could not comment on the amount spent.

Although the protest drew fewer people than expected, it was still one of the largest public health care protests in memory. Speakers from District 37 and community groups all urged that the coalition work together in the future.

—Richard Goldensohn

Hospitals must negotiate

WASHINGTON—As a result of a U.S. Court of Appeals decision that upheld interns and resident physicians' contention that they are professional hospital employees rather than students completing their education, young interns and resident physicians are organizing a new collective bargaining drive in hospitals around the country.

An Appeals Court decision on April 2, for the District of Columbia, overturned

a 1976 ruling by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) that interns and residents in hospitals were primarily students and thus not entitled to collective bargaining rights as professional employees.

"It is a victory for the cause of fair treatment for young doctors and their patients," said Dr. Jay Dobkin, president of the Physicians National House Staff Association.

He said, "The court's ruling demolishes the hiding place hospitals have used to avoid responding to the legitimate concerns of their doctors."

In the majority opinion, Chief Judge J. Skelly Wright said that the legislative history of NLRB "provides substantial support for the view that Congress intended that house staff be covered" by the act. "The legislative intent to extend benefits of the NLRB to house staff may not be contravened by administrative fiat," he said.

It is unlikely that the NLRB will appeal the decision because, in 1976, when the NLRB ruled against the physicians, they went back to Congress with amendments extending the collective bargaining rights to house staff physicians. NLRB expected Congress to approve those amendments this year.

—Laura Cianci

Senate hears farm workers

SALINAS, CAL.—With the United Farm Workers strike against California lettuce growers in its 14th week, a U.S. Senate Committee held hearings in Salinas, April 26-27, on farm worker collective bargaining. About 1,000 striking farm workers listened as government officials, labor leaders, agricultural economists and farm workers testified about the strike, California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act, and the use of undocumented workers as strikebreakers. The overwhelming majority of Salinas area growers boycotted the hearings. Sen. Harrison Williams (D-NJ), chair of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, blasted the growers for their refusal to testify.

Cesar Chavez, president of UFW, told the committee that in rural California striking farm workers are still treated like criminal syndicalists. Chavez assailed the local judge who dismissed charges against three El Centro lettuce company employees arrested for the Feb. 10 murder of striker Rufino Contreras.

UFW representatives testified that Salinas Valley growers are recruiting workers in Mexico and that Immigration and Naturalization officials have failed to remove these undocumented strike-breakers from the fields. There were also complaints by workers of harassment of strikers and police protection of scabs.

The Committee for Fair Negotiations Between Growers and Workers held a protest press conference claiming that the hearings were a "Chavez media show." They insisted that the real bone of contention between themselves and the union is "human rights for farm workers" rather than economics. The cry of "human rights" signals a struggle over control of the labor force and over the "right-to-work" of strikebreakers.

At a UFW press conference, Chavez called for a nation-wide lettuce boycott and a continued Chiquita banana boycott. Chiquita is owned by United Brands (formerly United Fruit), the same company that owns Sun Harvest, one of the largest struck lettuce growers.

—Merle Werner

Post Office pulls a fast one

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Postal Service is trying to circumvent a federal court decision in New Jersey that held mail monitoring for "national security" as unconstitutional by introducing into the Federal Register rules for adoption renewing the practice.

The court decision that halted mail monitoring for "national security" reasons was handed down by Judge Lawrence Whipple, in U.S. District Court, in a suit brought by a schoolgirl who found herself the subject of an FBI investigation because she wrote to the Socialist Labor Party for a high school project inadvertently was sent to the Socialist Workers Party whose mail was under a cover ordered by the FBI.

Judge Whipple held that "national security" reasons to justify mail covers is too ambiguous and broad. It might tempt an "over zealous public official" to investigate "unorthodox yet constitutionally protected political views." He said that "national security" reasons lacked precision and it is just this that the Postal Service now attempts to supply.

Charles R. Braun, an assistant general counsel who drafted the proposed new rules for the service, said that "Judge Whipple erred in thinking that mail monitoring might chill anyone's free speech. The practices of the Postal Service are not applicable to speech."

A mail cover allows the Postal Service, usually at the request of the FBI, to record names, addresses, and other data on envelopes addressed to or from individuals in which the law enforcement agency is interested.

The new rules would define "national security" as a defense against "an attack or other grave hostile act; sabotage or international terrorism; clandestine intelligence activities or the conduct of foreign affairs or military policies in opposition

to those foreign and military policies of the U.S. which are intended to protect the U.S. from the foregoing enumerated actual or potential threats."

Frank Askin, a general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and victor in the court battle outlawing "national security" covers, said the last catch-all clause would enable the government to "check the mail of all organizations engaged in legitimate activities protected by the First Amendment."

The Postal Service, said Askin, is engaged in an effort to circumvent by fiat a judicial decision they don't have the guts to take into [an appeals court].

Written comments objecting to the adoption of these rules by the Postal Service must be received on or before May 24, 1979, or the rules will be adopted by the Service without further notice. Comments should be directed to Assistant General Counsel, Special Projects, U.S. Postal Service, 475 L'Enfant Plaza West, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20260.



Q: Kill a what? A: Political cartoons

WASHINGTON—The Environmental Action Foundation went to trial May 9, to defend their use of "Reddy," the well known stick figure made of spark plugs, sockets and light bulbs in editorial cartoons.

The Reddy Communications, Inc., of Greenwich, Conn., charges that EAF, a leading critic of the electric utility industry, engaged in "trademark infringement" by repeatedly using Reddy in cartoons making fun of utilities and thereby defaming the cartoon character.

The precedent-setting law suit could affect the future of American editorial cartooning, said Jerry Robinson, president of the American Cartoonists Society and the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC).

Robinson, who will be testifying on First Amendment grounds for EAF, claims that an unfavorable decision in the case could set a precedent making "clear and effective cartooning difficult, if not impossible."

The RCI first filed suit against EAF in 1977 and, although the Foundation admits that it has repeatedly depicted Reddy in unflattering poses in its books and periodicals, it denies the validity of any of the company's charges. EAF said that RCI, which is supported by electric utility firms, is engaging in harassment and is trying to silence industry critics.

The attorney for RCI, John Roberts, claims that the suit is a relatively open-and-shut case in the area of trademark law. He is demanding a court injunction forbidding EAF to use Reddy in the future.

Doug Marlette, editorial cartoonist for the *Charlotte News-Observer*; Dr. Lee Richardson, director of the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs; and Dr. David Schwartz, former economist for the Federal Power Commission will be testifying for EAF. The cartoonists Associations passed formal resolutions this winter supporting EAF in the case. "The RCI suit, the resolutions warned, could impose severe restraints on political cartooning in this country." —Laura Cianci

IN THE NATION

CAMPAIGN '80

Brown cultivates pro-business image as 1980 approaches

By Larry Ransom

FIVE PRIMARY VICTORIES OVER Jimmy Carter in 1976 notwithstanding, Jerry Brown has jet-setted one hallmark of his last presidential bid: virulent anti-big business pronouncements.

Brown's relationship to the corporate world has come half circle. Back in the early days of his first term, Brown supported rights for farm workers and appointed minorities and ecologists to state boards and agencies while muttering zen pronouncements that "small is beautiful."

This freaked out California's business establishment, which attacked Brown for being "anti-business." A confrontation loomed in late 1975. Just as Brown was gearing up for his first presidential effort, Dow Chemical, blaming environmental red tape and governmental regulation, announced it was abandoning plans to build a petrochemical plant in the Sacramento delta. The California Business Roundtable, comprised of the heads of Fortune 500 companies headquartered in the state, jumped into the fray. Roundtable head David Packard, a former deputy defense secretary under Richard Nixon and proprietor of the electronics conglomerate, Hewlett-Packard, condemned Brown for "chasing Dow out of the state." Packard announced his firm would not locate new plants in California until the "business climate" improved. The chorus of business criticism increased as *Forbes* magazine—"the capitalist tool"—surveyed the business climate of the 48 contiguous states and ranked California 47th.

Brown's response was slow, calculated, and barely noticed by the press or the public. Undoubtedly, his populist image on the campaign trail was boosted by these business attacks. But with the 1976 campaign over, he moved to polish up his relationship with business and improve his stock with corporate leaders.

As liaison with the corporate world, Brown tapped San Diego financier Richard T. Silberman, his chief fundraiser in 1976. Silberman became Brown's Secretary of Business and Transportation with the specific mission of opening the doors of corporate suites to the governor. Since then, Silberman has become Brown's closest adviser on business and economic matters and has held a succession of posts in the statehouse, including Chief of Staff and his current post of State Finance Director (Brown's Port Lance).

The son of a junk dealer, Silberman was an electronics whiz kid in high school and cashed in on the California components boom in the '50s with investments in electronics firms. Then he joined with fast-food pioneer Robert O. Peterson to parlay Jack-in-the-Box into the nation's second largest food chain before selling out to Ralston Purina. Silberman and Peterson next bought out Southern California First National Bank, then the largest bank in San Diego and tenth largest in California. After developing a program of branch banking to follow Southern California's continued sprawl, Silberman and Peterson sold out again—this time to the Bank of Tokyo.

Silberman has always lived behind-the-scenes power. He and Peterson dominated San Diego politics in the early '70s, suc-

**Richard Silberman
ex-junk food wizard,
has solidified
Brown's ties to the
Business Roundtable
and Wall Street.**

cessfully financing a spate of moderates in City Council and Board of Supervisor races. It never seemed to matter if a candidate was a Democrat or a Republican—only if his support could bring Silberman entre. When Silberman joined the Brown camp he was serving as top adviser to San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, a Republican gearing up for a go at the 1978 GOP gubernatorial nomination and a shot at opposing Brown.

When Silberman joined Brown, his work was cut out for him. He took Brown to Wall Street to convince business leaders that the governor of California was not a closet leftist, but an innovative, new spirit governor in touch with changing economic and political realities.

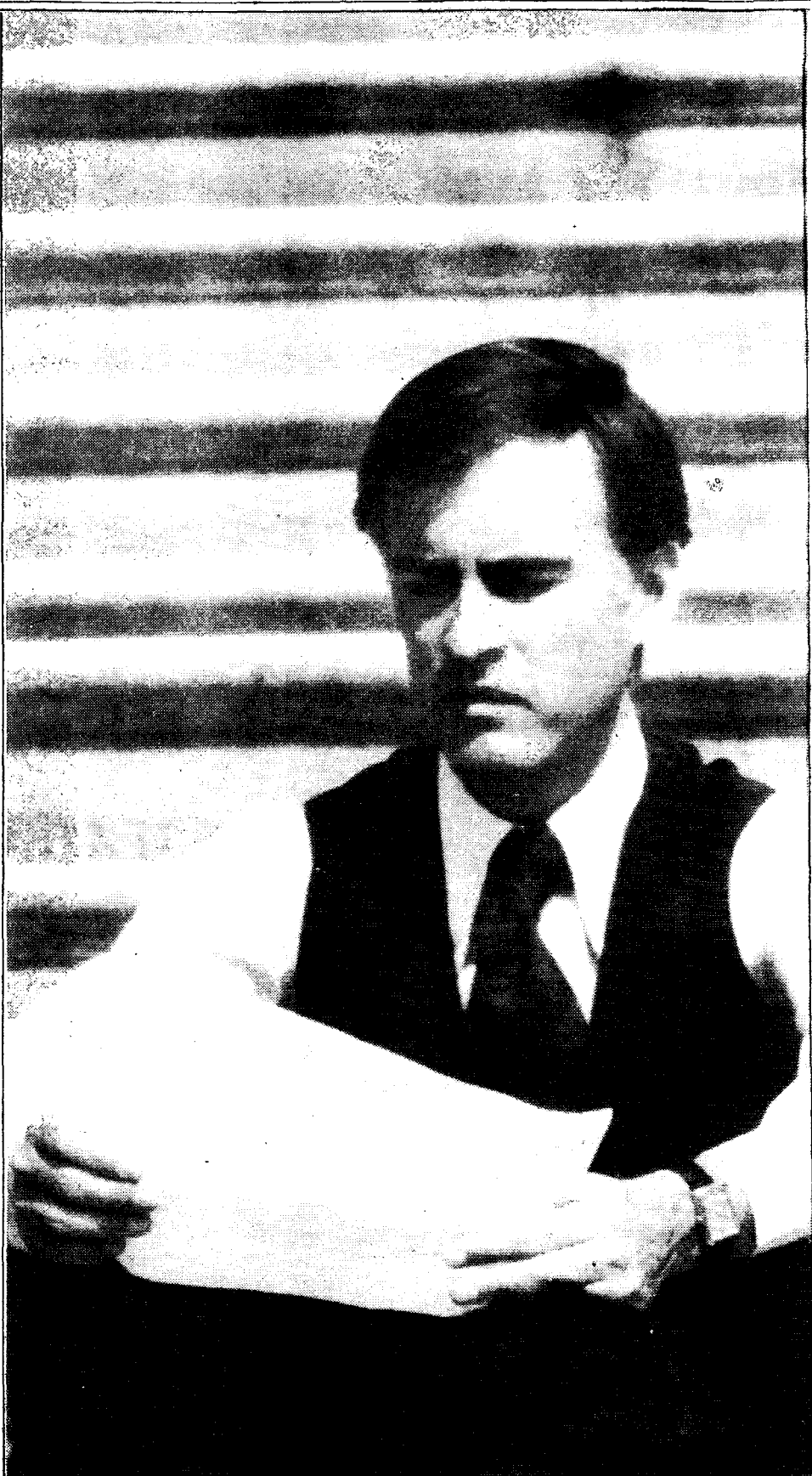
Under Silberman's tutelage, the Brown administration slowly shifted positions on key business issues. Brown came out for ending the unitary method of taxing multinationals doing business in California—a method that taxed their California operations as a percentage of their worldwide business. Brown also called for an end to the inventory tax—a once-a-year assessment of the total stock on hand in California's retail stores. Both taxes had been bitterly opposed by corporate interests.

To soften the "anti-business" criticism, Brown traveled to Japan to woo manufacturers with large stateside volume to open plants in California. And at his side was Richard T. Silberman, to set up meetings with the heads of Honda, Toyota and Datsun. Silberman played the same role when Brown went to London in late 1977 to meet with executives from British Petroleum and several European corporations.

But it wasn't until Brown embraced Howard Jarvis and the Great California Tax Revolt that business antipathy really began to soften. Before the momentum to pass Prop. 13 built, Brown and the state legislature were considering ways to come up with a tax reform proposal and return a state tax surplus of several billion dollars to beleaguered taxpayers. A progressive tax bill—S.B. 154—backed by public interest groups, proffered tax relief for renters and single family homeowners, and not for all landowners—large and small—as Prop. 13 did.

S.B. 154 had wended its way through a largely liberal legislature and—with a push from Brown—could have passed. But on the advice of Silberman and others, Brown offered a softer tax relief package. The resulting legislative deadlock gave Prop. 13 its opening and the rest is history.

In the post-Prop. 13 era, Silberman emerged as the architect of Brown's born again tax cutting philosophy. He was the chief designer of the new state budget, which incorporates—among other fea-



Richard Silberman

tures—cutbacks in real wages for state employees and in public assistance levels for the blind, the disabled, and seniors.

These stands have won high marks from business leaders and the once antagonistic California Business Roundtable is now singing Brown's praise. "He now recognizes that the private sector is the largest, most important part of the state economy," declares Packard. To which Justin Dart (Dart Industries)—another Roundtable heavyweight who once served as chief fundraiser for Ronald Reagan—adds, "I guess his objectives are now basically our objectives," noting with admiration Brown's seriousness in cutting down the size of government.

Thanks to the Brownian rhetoric about "new opportunities," Brown's push for space exploration, trade with Asia and Mexico, and his clearly signalled willingness to keep an ear open to business, he is not regarded as the enemy he once was. In fact, Brown now counts among his confidants Thornton Bradshaw—the president of ARCO, which prides itself on being innovative. And when Brown recently threw a series of \$1000-a-plate fundraisers to pay off his state campaign debt, the Los Angeles dinner chair was Justin Dart, and many members of the Roundtable were in attendance.

To be sure, most industrialists and corporate executives would prefer a straight, pro-business Republican to the wily, unpredictable Brown. Many segments of agribusiness will never forgive his support for Cesar Chavez and the United

Farm Workers. Utility executives are still smarting over his opposition to nuclear power. And business leaders in general are uneasy about Brown's relationship to Tom Hayden, of the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), who has lobbied for and won creation of a solar energy agency and a post on the Southwest Border Regional Commission—the prime agency for developing economic policy along the border.

But what's important is that business leaders know they can "play ball" with Jerry. He's now a known entity—thanks to the efforts of Silberman.

As for Silberman, some of his dealings in the sordid backwaters of the corporate world leaked out recently, much to Brown's embarrassment. These included revelations that:

- At Brown's request, Silberman asked Mexican businessman Carlos Bustamante to get Brown and Mexican President Lopez Portillo together to discuss importing Mexican oil and gas into California. Bustamante, whose family controls the natural gas and propane utilities in Tijuana, is presently being investigated by U.S. authorities for a kickback scheme involving the purchase of gas in the U.S. through a dummy corporation chartered in the Dutch Antilles. Silberman has known Bustamante for many years. Bustamante was a stockholder in Silberman's bank and his family—whose assets are estimated to exceed \$200 million—used that bank for their U.S. business transactions.

Continued on page 8.

The march

Continued from page 3.

woman said. "Now I want to find out more about what's been done to my family and what's going to happen to us." Harrisburg, not previously a hotbed of anti-nuke sentiment, sent 31 buses.

The rally made abundantly clear, as have previous mass meetings in Washington, that nuclear energy has become a major national concern. Growing out of a strong grassroots base built by local organizing over the last few years, the anti-nuclear movement reached "critical mass" on May 6, addressing the nation's political leaders directly and demanding action.

"No more Harrisburgs" was the rallying slogan. It grew out of the widespread fallout of anger and alarm that mushroomed in the wake of the Three Mile Island accident. The record turnout followed a pattern set by local anti-nuke demonstrations across the country that attracted larger than expected crowds.

Demonstrators came from all over the country—from every major city and from small towns as far away as California, New Mexico, Florida and Maine. And from the high schools and colleges around the nation came young people, amazed and thrilled to see political action in the beautiful Washington springtime.

By the time of the demonstration, the May 6 Coalition, organized only a month before, represented a wide range of support. Besides the obvious constituencies—the local alliances such as New York's Shad and New England's Clamshell—support came from consumer groups such as Critical Mass and local public interest research groups, environmentalists, senior citizens and women's groups from all points on the political spectrum.

Strong disagreements early in the organizing effort between the peace and anti-nuke groups over whether the weapons issue should be mixed with the peacetime power issue was finally resolved and such groups as the Mobilization for Survival and the War Resisters League also participated.

With many groups involved in the planning, it was inevitable that the strong disagreements arose. While an official rally demand for a moratorium on the development of nuclear power and construction of new nuclear plants was finally hammered out, the pressure from the separate groups led the Coalition to decide to let each group express its own political views. Some demanded immediate shut-down of all plants; others urged a gradual phaseout. Speakers with roots in the anti-war movement such as Bella Abzug and Rev. Paul Mayer said that nuclear power and nuclear weapons are opposite sides of the same coin; both must be eliminated.

Several speakers insisted that nuclear power is an energy problem and a health problem that demands a political solution. They called for federal budget support to develop solar energy. Jane Fonda called for the replacement of James Schlesinger as head of the Department of Energy, saying that his pro-nuke views made him as unsuited for the job as Dracula would be to run the blood bank.

"We're going to have an impact on Congress," Nader said. He predicted that future demonstrations may be needed to keep pressuring national leaders. "If corporate-dominated government doesn't stop nuclear power, are you coming back in greater numbers," he asked. "Yes!" roared the crowd.

Calling nukes "the technological Vietnam," Nader hinted that Carter's nuclear policies may make him a one-term president. The point was not lost on two potential successors. Sen. Edward Kennedy sent a supportive message to the rally, and California Gov. Jerry Brown delivered his support in person. Brown was introduced by Jane Fonda who said, "I support him when he's right, and I tell him when he's wrong." Fonda's comment and the boos Brown received from the audience were apparently a response to his recent conservative stand on federal budget balancing.

At times the rally resembled a teach-in. Several movement technical experts shared information from their specialized fields. Dr. Barry Commoner, a biologist, said, "Contrary to government press releases, radiation, whether the fallout from nu-



Friends of the Earth (above) and Vassar College (below) sent groups to the march.

clear weapons or the emissions from leaky reactors, means that more people will die of cancer.

"And contrary to the utilities' claims, nuclear power is not too cheap to meter; it forces us to pay higher utility bills." Other specialists who spoke included Dr. George Wald, a Nobel laureate in medicine; Dr. Helen Caldicott, a pediatrician and Dr. John Gofman, a nuclear chemist.

Two other speakers were experts of a different kind. They described their experiences as victims of nuclear power. Orville Kelly, president of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, said that he witnessed 22 nuclear blasts during bomb-

testing in the Pacific. Now he has cancer. Denied compensation from the government, Kelly said, "The military commendations I received will not pay my medical bills or support my family when I die."

Susan Cassidy, a 24-year-old pregnant woman, lives four miles from Three Mile Island with her husband and 15-month-old daughter. "Before the accident, I had absolutely no knowledge or concern about nuclear power," she said. "I feel very angry that Met Ed had the authority to submit my family to such extreme dangers. I'm outraged at the government for not informing the public of the dangers of nuclear energy."

wants all "to be more aware that there are alternatives."

Carol Lee Rotsko, 23, and her husband J. Dennis Marker, 24, both feel that "the utilities are taking advantage of us" but don't agree on whether the march is a political action.

Rotsko "an office assistant for the Daughters of the American Revolution, identifies herself as "totally non-political." But, she says, "this isn't political, it concerns our lives. And it's time to put our foot down." She came to the Coalition because she "finally found something that made me angry. The government's statements about Harrisburg were so incredible. I just don't like them weighing economics against people's lives." Although Rotsko doesn't like either national party, unlike Spike, she is a believer in "working within the system."

So is Marker, who has worked for both parties in campaigns and currently works for the Environmental Protection Agency. His first exposure to nuclear power issues was when he worked for a congressman in a district with a nuclear reprocessing facility. It "alerted me to a lot of the abuses" of nuclear reactors, he said. Although Markers does not want to shut down existing plants, favoring increased caution instead, he is adamant that no more should be built. "When people learn how much the Harrisburg fiasco costs, the economics alone will kill nuclear power." He joined the coalition after seeing a phone number on a poster because "the government has lied to the citizens long enough."

Crucial to organizing the march in only four weeks was the availability of office space from the Public Resource Center, a left-wing think tank. Several members of the collective had attended the early organizing meetings, and when the decision was made to organize the march, they knew it was impossible without immediate space. Within a couple of days, PRO staff moved out of their offices and the Coalition volunteers moved in. When new phone lines were installed a few days later—after two individuals put up \$500 in personal funds as a deposit—massive organization of the march could begin. ■

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Volunteers

Continued from page 3.

complains about it" this march is Greenbaum's first major volunteer political activity. She spent all her spare time working for the Coalition because she was "outraged by the insensitivity of the government to the fact that the national energy policy just has to be changed."

Political activism has been a major theme throughout the life of Thaddeus "Spike" Zywicki, 67, who devotes himself to Latin American human rights issues, when not running errands for the Coalition. He has always believed that "the two-party system is finished," so has voted socialist most of the time. According to Spike, "The big corporations are trying to sell us this thing," and all nuclear plants should be shut down.

A strong contrast to Spike's lifelong radicalism is Kathleen Bresette, 43, housewife and mother of nine children, ages six to 20. Her major political activity prior to giving all her spare time to this march was marching with Right to Life for five years and "some involvement with the farmworkers."

She said she and her physician husband "talked about nuclear power for the last year until we became intellectually convinced it wasn't a good thing." She found her way to the Coalition after her son phoned from Alfred University in New York to ask if anything was happening in response to the Three Mile Island incident. After several phone calls a friend at the YWCA gave her a May 6 leaflet. For the week preceeding the march she and two of her daughter handled the front desk, and organized the leafletting chart.

Bresette stated she came to the Coalition because she wanted to make people question whether "we really need all these nuclear power plants. We don't know what to do with the waste, and there isn't any control or responsibility." She hasn't decided whether "we should shut them down or just be more cautious" but

STEELWORKER



"The movement in steel is not falling apart; it just needs to be gotten together again."

An insurgent within the insurgency

By David Meberg

CHICAGO

AT ONE POINT ALICE PEURALA was stuck in a dead-end job, a seniority classification with only one slot—hers. Yet all around her younger men, many of them trained by her, were getting better-paying, straight daytime jobs that would have helped her greatly to take care of her daughter.

She decided to fight it, but the promotion policies weren't a violation of the union contract. So she went to court, winning her suit after over two years, and then got her much-sought job as a products tester in the U.S. Steel South Works mill in the southwest corner of Chicago.

That was Peurala's first big fight with U.S. Steel, some 12 years ago. Since then she has persisted, drawing inspiration from her father, an Armenian immigrant committed to socialism and trade unionism, from her memories of Harold Gibbons, the Teamster vice-president who was then a socialist union leader in St. Louis, and from Farrell Dobbs, the Trotskyist mastermind of Teamster organizing. She ran once for local president, served as a grievor, and pushed—successfully in many cases—for controversial local union positions such as opposing the war in Indochina in 1970 and supporting women's right to abortions.

Now she is president of her 7,500 member local. By a narrow margin she defeated two opponents in the April election, including incumbent John Chico, a longtime friend and union colleague of Ed Sadlowski, the Steelworker insurgent leader who came from Local 65 as well. Although Peurala's victory is pathbreaking for women in such a large industrial union, she sees it more as a victory for tough-minded trade unionism and relentless union democracy.

Her candidacy bothered many of her like-minded union activists: it pitted one insurgent against another, it threatened to cause friction between some rebels—such as Sadlowski, who backed Chico—that could weaken the movement and it could have, many argued, opened the door to victory by a more conservative contender. Yet the vote indicates that there was deep discontent with Chico, despite his record from years past, and that Peurala's criticism of his failure to live up to promises of democracy and militancy touched a responsive nerve in the local union consciousness. The democratic spirit Chico had helped to encourage was in the end his undoing, a reminder of why many leaders fear stirring up democratic aspirations. Now, observers claim, the factions of election time among insurgents are healing.

Peurala told *IN THESE TIMES* about why she ran and what her victory means.

The election seemed like a strange one. Here was John Chico, the friend of Sadlowski, and you were the supporter of Sadlowski. You were both, within the terms of the union, part of the anti-administration forces, part of the progressive forces of the Steelworkers' Union. How did you decide to take on Chico for the presidency?

I think it started in 1977 when, as a member of the grievance committee, I had some input on the negotiations for a local working condition agreement. What happened was that Chico and Cass Tomasi, who was chairman of the grievance committee, settled the local plant-wide issues in Pittsburgh with the heads of U.S. Steel Corporation. When they came back from Pittsburgh I asked how the negotiations were going and was told that everything was resolved. I said, "How were the issues resolved?" and was told—oh, you'll find out. I said, "Well, I want to know!" I remember a couple of other grievors were around here and we went into Cass Tomasi's office and he showed us the way many of the issues were resolved: and we didn't get very much.

Now I felt, and a number of the other grievors felt, that this was really a breach of commitment to the membership by Chico. One of the reasons I supported John Chico was that he said he believed in union democracy and that the membership would have a right to ratify all agreements under which they work.

I believe very strongly that you negotiate and you bring back to the membership what you've negotiated and you let them decide if they want to accept that, or if they want you to go back and negotiate some more. After you've decided that you can't negotiate any more you have the right to appeal to the International Union for the right to take a strike vote. Although John went through the motions of doing that on the local seniority agreement, where there were a couple of areas that had not been settled, he just went through the motions of asking for a strike vote in order to save himself from further criticism.

This local has had rank-and-file caucuses going back some time, obviously. Sadlowski was part of one.

Well, I don't know. What you call a caucus and what you call an election committee are two different things. I don't consider what they had a caucus. It was an election committee: they formed a group to run for election; when the election was over that was the end of the caucus until the next election.

What was your personal relationship, and then the caucus relationship, if any, to the Steelworkers Fight Back?

Well, many of the people, almost everybody in our group, worked for Fight Back. Everybody in our caucus were Fight

Back supporters. I think Fight Back has not been together recently. They stayed together, tried to maintain a headquarters up here for six or eight months afterwards, but now the goose is loose. There are people around here that were part of Fight Back but nobody had any idea what Eddie was going to do and the question of whether Fight Back stayed together or didn't stay together seemed to just kind of fall apart. There are individuals now who talk to each other, get together once in a while, but I don't know how much of an organization there is.

How do you think your victory is going to affect your relationship with Sadlowski?

The division is probably over by now. I've worked for Eddie. Eddie knows that. He and I have always been friends. I think he hoped that John and I would be able to get together, and I made a stab at it after the convention but I just didn't feel they were really very serious about getting together. I made the attempt, but there was no way.

Why do you think you won?

I think I won because people are dissatisfied. They want to see the union begin to work for them. I don't think it is working for a great majority of the people out there. They don't feel they have a strong union to back them when they get into trouble. They file grievances and they take too long to get resolved.

How are you going to be able to do something about that?

What we have to do is train our grievors, change the leadership of the committee. If we have a third step meeting we should get the minutes of that meeting in 30 days not eight months. There's no reason for that kind of breakdown in the grievance machinery.

Also, I think it has something to do with the kind of stance I will have. That is I'm going to fight that company up there. John Chico has never talked about fighting the company. He never even went into the plants until after the Burnside foundry explosion (an accident in a nearby mill that killed four workers in February). I told the *Calumet* [a local newspaper] that we could have an explosion out here. Chico was very upset about that. He went into the plant on a guided tour by the bosses and he didn't even take any of the workers from those areas with him nor any of the grievance committee people. He came out and said it looks pretty good to him in there.

What do you see your work with the International union or with the rank and file movement to be?

As president of the basic steel local, you become a member of the basic steel industry conference, which meets to vote on that basic labor agreement. The convention has mandated that the industry conference discuss and advise on the ques-

tion of membership ratification of contracts. I am hoping there will be a lot of new and good presidents of locals who can fight for that right. I am going in there fighting to have the members have the right to vote on that contract, which is an anti-administration position.

What about contributions to a wider organization of opposition?

I don't know that there is any cohesiveness in any movement around the country right now. That has been one of the big problems in steel, one of the weaknesses of the Sadlowski movement. We had a strong organization in district 31, and a few other districts. But that was all. The movement in steel is not falling apart; it just needs to be reorganized and gotten together again. I think it can be done and maybe these elections will tell. Also, there is the kind of inflation the workers are facing. Safety is a big issue. We have a foundry they are thinking of closing. And we have men suffering from silicosis.

You see the only threat of shutdown as being the foundry, not the whole mill?

Sure, because the government got on their back. The company has been hiding the medical records. Men in that foundry are bound to have silicosis. Maybe, if they were told what their health was ten years ago, maybe they would have gotten out of the foundry. Now they are just in very, very bad shape. Maybe that is criminal. Those are the kinds of things we have to attack.

So you don't see anything you have to do to prevent the possibility of shutdown. You don't see it as an issue you will have to deal with?

I don't see any serious threat of a plant shutdown. I think the import and shutdown scare was the steel corporations getting their trigger prices [that keep up the price of foreign steel] so they could all raise their prices. Every steel mill around the country was talking about shutting down because of foreign imports. It was a well orchestrated lobbying effort on the part of the steel industry. John Chico fell for that too, and so did Stazak. People thought about them as being more concerned about the corporation than they were about the people they were supposed to represent.

What do you see as the significance of your victory? As far as anyone can tell you are the first woman in basic steel to head a local of this size.

I've been a grievor for three years and my record as a grievor is probably what helped elect me. I represent 600 or 700 people in my own division who felt I was doing a good job for them. People in the plant looked on me as a fighter. I think it demonstrates that the men in that plant will vote for someone who is going to fight for them, make the union work for them.

THE UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL.

Carter's 1980 Budget

"Hello, Senator?"

Right now, Congress is deciding if the aged and disabled will lose \$600 million in Social Security benefits — while the Pentagon gets the M-X missile.

They're deciding if our children will lose \$527 million in nutrition programs, including school lunches — while the Pentagon gets the neutron bomb.

They're deciding if a quarter of a million young people will lose their last chance for a summer job — while the Pentagon gives millions in weapons to "friendly" dictators.

They're debating the 1980 Federal budget.

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"Your vote is just as important to me as my vote is to you"

Jimmy Carter's "lean and austere" Federal budget slashes \$15 billion off domestic spending for human needs — but adds \$10 billion to the military budget.

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Gov. Brown

Continued from page 5.

•Silberman raised more than \$15,000 last fall from known organized crime figures for the faltering campaign of Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally. His solicitations came in the closing days of the race while he was serving as Brown's chief of staff. In response to a plea from Silberman, Las Vegas casino owner Alan Glick dropped \$10,000 into Dymally's campaign coffers and the La Costa Land Co. in northern San Diego County added another \$5,000. Federal agents have testified that Glick's casinos are controlled by the Chicago syndicate. And the principals of the La Costa development—which was financed with Teamster pension fund loans—have been identified in magazine articles, Congressional hearings, and reports by the California Attorney General as organized crime figures.

These revelations embarrassed Brown, who told reporters he had reprimanded Silberman for "poor judgment." But they did not diminish Silberman's influence. Along with Silberman, there are six major advisers on whom Brown counts for input and feedback in a decision-making process many observers feel takes place by osmosis. They include:

•Gray Davis, Brown's chief of staff and alter ego. Winner of the Silver Star in Vietnam, Davis became a corporate attorney when he returned to L.A. in the early '70s. His firm's clients included Mitsubishi, ABC, Michelin Tire, and Bethlehem Steel. He is cold, impersonal, detached and efficient. Davis has independent political ambitions of his own and once ran for state treasurer. He also worked for L.A. mayor Tom Bradley and is close to liberal money man Max Palevsky.

•Richard Maullin, chairman of the state energy commission and Brown's top energy adviser. A former RAND Corp. analyst who specialized in Latin American counterinsurgency, Maullin's role in

the negotiations for Mexican oil makes people south of the border nervous.

•Tom Quinn, head of the State Air Resources Board. A Brown confidant for more than a decade, Quinn ran Brown's first statewide race and has been his principal political adviser ever since.

•J. Anthony Kline, Brown's legal affairs secretary. A classmate of Brown's at Yale, Kline is primarily responsible for the "Brown judiciary." Quiet, adept, and persistent, Kline scours the state for potential judicial appointees. He finds an ACLU attorney here, a poverty lawyer there—appointments he balances with Democratic Party warhorses who support Brown politically.

•Jacques Barzghagi. Nobody knows exactly what Barzghagi does for Brown. They share a common appreciation for zen and vegetarian food and they "lock in" on one another mentally.

With the 1980 race looming, the Brown team is preparing to move into high gear. On the inside, debates over an economic program are come to the fore with Silberman giving shape and content to Brown's emerging economic platform.

Silberman is pushing strongly for Brown to support decontrol of domestic oil prices. He's also credited with shaping Brown's notion that we need a "Common Market of North America"—a linking of Canada, the U.S. and Mexico to permit both Mexican oil and workers to flow northward and U.S. capital to flow south without restrictions.

On the issue of the Constitutional Convention to balance the federal budget, Silberman's influence is supreme. Once self-described as "socially liberal but fiscally conservative," Silberman sees this issue as the key to the 1980 election. The voters are so fed up with government, he's stated to friends, that they're ready to vote for a spending cut just like Prop. 13.

"People don't understand what I mean by supporting the idea of a Convention," he said recently. "This damn movement's going to happen anyway. I want to control it. I want to direct it. I want to make a tender offer [takeover effort] on that movement."

"We hire girls because they are easier to control . . ."

Over one million S.E. Asian women now work for U.S. corporations, forming the central link in assembly lines that stretch from the U.S. to Asia and back again. Their salaries are as low as 80¢ a day.

"Our last winner of the company beauty contest spent \$40 on her evening gown, but she made so many slits to show her legs, that she can't wear the dress anymore."

New forms of personnel control which manipulate traditional concepts of femininity, passivity, and sexuality are now being implemented by American electronics companies in S.E. Asia.

"Hey grandma! How do you like your new glasses?"

Electronics workers in Hong Kong are called "grandma" after they reach the age of 25, since by this time they need eyeglasses. Asian women work in these factories only 3 to 4 years before they suffer severe eye damage. As a result, they often lose their jobs.

"Intel doesn't believe in unions, because we believe in finding out what workers want. Our company conducts a twice yearly attitude survey."

The corporate strategy in Asia is to divert independent worker organizing, and to prevent employees from attaining their legal rights even under the limited protection of S.E. Asian regimes.

The Changing Role of SE Asian Women offers a documented look at new corporate strategies for social control on the job, and the attempt to orient every facet of employees' lives around the company's plant. This is a first-hand report featuring interviews with women in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, who talk about the impact these policies have on their lives and about their efforts to resist them.

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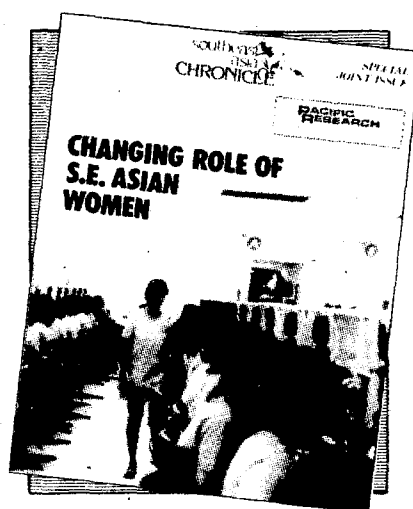
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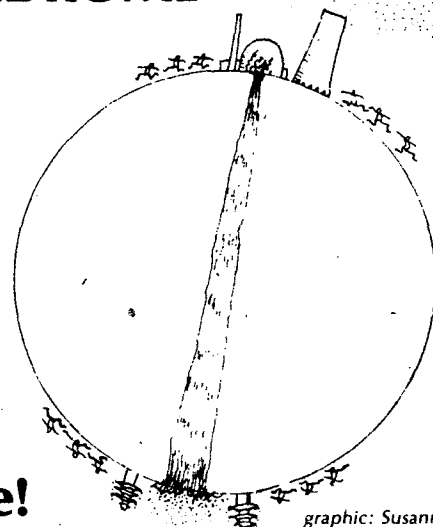
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"THE CHINA SYNDROME"

China Syndrome or China Effect—Name given by scientists and engineers to a possible consequence of a reactor fuel meltdown. The fuel would become a molten mass of intensely radioactive material that could burn through the reactor vessel and containment building, continuing into the earth to...China?



graphic: Susanna Natti

...is no joke!

And as Anna Gyorgy & friends show in **NO NUKES: EVERYONE'S GUIDE TO NUCLEAR POWER**, accidents such as the recent one in Harrisburg are neither minor nor rare.

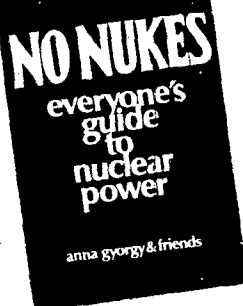
Anna and her many contributors reveal the true costs and risks of nuclear power for consumers and workers. They detail the history of the nuclear program and describe its impact on jobs, taxes, and the community. **NO NUKES** is a comprehensive guide to nuclear power, explaining the inner workings of nuclear plants, the nuclear fuel cycle, health and safety hazards, economics and politics, and the action and strategies of anti-nuke citizen groups in the U.S. and rest of the world. Readers are also introduced to various alternatives, including conservation, fossil fuel, and solar.

"It will be an indispensable handbook for citizens who want to participate in the great, historic debate which must now determine the fate of nuclear power"

—Barry Commoner
biologist & author

"This remarkable book covers all aspects of nuclear power and the alternatives to it, with the best presentation of the world-wide movement for sane and safe energy available anywhere."

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BOSTON

IN THE WORLD

GREAT BRITAIN

Thatcher gets votes, but not mandate

Carter backed Labour candidate Callaghan, while GOP head Bill Brock lauded Thatcher.

By Barbara Scheaf

LONDON

WHAT THE MANCHESTER Guardian calls Margaret Thatcher's juggernaut has rolled to a stop at the door of number 10 Downing Street where Britain's first woman Prime Minister has selected her cabinet and is now turning her attention to preparing the Queen's speech which will set the tone of the new Conservative government. Despite wide variations in pre-election polls, the bookies never wavered in their belief that Thatcher would triumph, although several ruefully admit to having taken a financial bath from punters who played the long odds on the size of the Thatcher majority—an unexpected, whopping 44 seats.

In the popularity poll, Labour's Callaghan was always well ahead, and thus the returns indicate that for once, politicians got what they have always claimed they want: an election decided on the issues rather than on personalities. The big questions on voters' minds were high prices, high taxes, declining educational facilities, and law and order. Harder to measure is the importance of the Tories' promises to restore the "Great" to Britain.

Recollections of a winter made especially harsh by the frequent random and capricious strikes of labor unions were still fresh as voters walked past piles of long uncollected garbage on their way to the polls. Small wonder, then, that ex-Prime Minister Callaghan and his claim to be the only man who could deal with the unions was rejected as ludicrous to the public.

Instead, the voters seem to have accepted the Tory argument that amiable Jim Callaghan was merely the moderate front man for members of Labour's left wing who, they said, have gained control of the party machinery. Post mortems over Labour's defeat will continue for months, but it is immediately clear that for the most part, the Labour Party and the unions defeated themselves. Party strategy to keep members of the left Tribune group under wraps during the campaign was not successful, and voters defeated several of them.

Not all the news was bad for Labour, however; they did well in local council elections that were held at the same time as the parliamentary poll. In Scotland, they were the principal beneficiary of the decline of the Scottish Nationalist Party from 11 to two seats, and they knocked off Teddy Taylor, who had been Thatcher's choice for the cabinet post of Scottish Secretary.

The returns also provided a mixed blessing for women, with the good news, of course, the election of a woman prime minister. The bad news is that the number of women in Parliament declined from 27 to 10, the lowest since 1951. Among the vanquished was Shirley Williams, who had distinguished herself in Callaghan's cabinet as secretary for education. Thus far, only three out of 87 cabinet, ministerial and junior ministerial appointments in the new government have gone to women. Thatcher has not been a part of the women's movement, but the most likely reason for her failure to appoint more of her sex is the small field from which she has to choose.

Another big loser was the Liberal Party, which went from 14 to 11 seats. The Liberals had hoped down to the last for a hung Parliament in which it would continue to hold the balance of power. Liberal leader David Steel was moved to tears on the loss of the party's deputy leader. Less surprising was the defeat of the Liberal's former leader, Jeremy Thorpe. Thorpe's trial on charges of conspiracy to murder a male model who had allegedly been his lover, had been postponed because of the election. It has now begun and is expected to have a three months' run at London's Old Bailey.

Despite her robust majority, Thatcher is likely to move cautiously. There was no Tory landslide; instead, the voters seemed to have picked and chosen very carefully. Generally speaking, the Tories seemed to do best in the most affluent parts of the country, in and around London and the southeast in particular. In Greater London, the swing to the Conservatives was 6.4 percent; in the south and west, 6.6 percent; in the midlands, 6.3; in East Anglia 5.6. Moving farther away from the capital, in Wales the Tory swing was 4.8; in the north 4.5; and in Scotland, it reversed itself to a .1 percent swing to Labour.

Further evidence of a moderate approach comes from Thatcher's appointments to date. Although a few right-wing Conservatives have been given posts, most have come from the party's moderate sector. The big question on everyone's lips was what would Thatcher do with Edward Heath, the former Tory Prime Minister from whom she had wrested the party leadership. The last week of the campaign, Heath made a number of appearances in marginal constituencies, attacking Labour, but never once making a comment about Thatcher. This prompted Jim Callaghan to warn Thatcher to guard her flank against a sneak attack from her predecessor. Thatcher kept her own counsel, but when her cabinet was announced, Heath's name was not on the list, despite the fact that he had rather grudgingly announced that he would be willing to serve. Apparently, Thatcher decided that because of her majority, she did not need him. Instead, she has called upon several of Heath's close associates to serve.

Throughout the campaign, which lasted only two and one-half weeks, concern was expressed that on a national basis it had become Americanized and too loaded with gimmicks. But, in general, the British are still in the bush leagues compared with American campaign excesses.

Through the judicious use of a leak from the "reliable source" the U.S. government likes to use when it's hedging its bets, President Carter let it be known on the eve of the election that he felt it would be best for Anglo-American relations if Jim Callaghan were elected. Perhaps Carter did this because he once again had poor intelligence on the status of politics in a foreign nation, or perhaps because he thought he could help turn the anti-Labour tide (it is significant here that he and Callaghan are fond of pointing out that they share the initials J.C. with Someone Else). In any event, it was a pointless exercise that may cause future difficulty in light of the fact that Thatcher's previous contacts with the U.S. administration are said to have been mutually underwhelming.



James Callaghan shares a joke with reporters after casting his ballot in May 3 election.

While Carter goes about replacing his divots, he would do well to ponder the message the British voters have sent him: 1980 is going to be a tough year for incumbents.

At the same time, it would be wrong to oversimplify the meaning of the election. It has become commonplace to equate the two major British parties with the two major American parties, Labour with the Democrats, Conservative with the Republicans. GOP national chairman Bill Brock was lurking around the fringes of the Thatcher campaign, wearing temporary press credentials and striking Mt. Rushmore-esque poses for the TV cameras. "If we had a candidate like that (indicating Thatcher)," he burred, "we could absolutely destroy the Democrats next year."

A great kiddier, that fellow Brock. Set-

ting aside the fact of Thatcher's sex, consider the following planks in the Thatcher platform:

- Rather than doing away with the National Health Service, she has promised not to cut spending on Britain's socialized medicine and to raise its standards.

- Although there will be no further nationalization of industry, and the most recently nationalized, such as aerospace and shipbuilding, will be offered to the private market and employees, government control over nationalized industry of long-standing will be retained.

Any Republican nominee who advocated a national health scheme or continued regulation (much less nationalization) of American industry, could only expect to become the early candidate of a necktie party.

THE SHAH WAS ONLY ONE.

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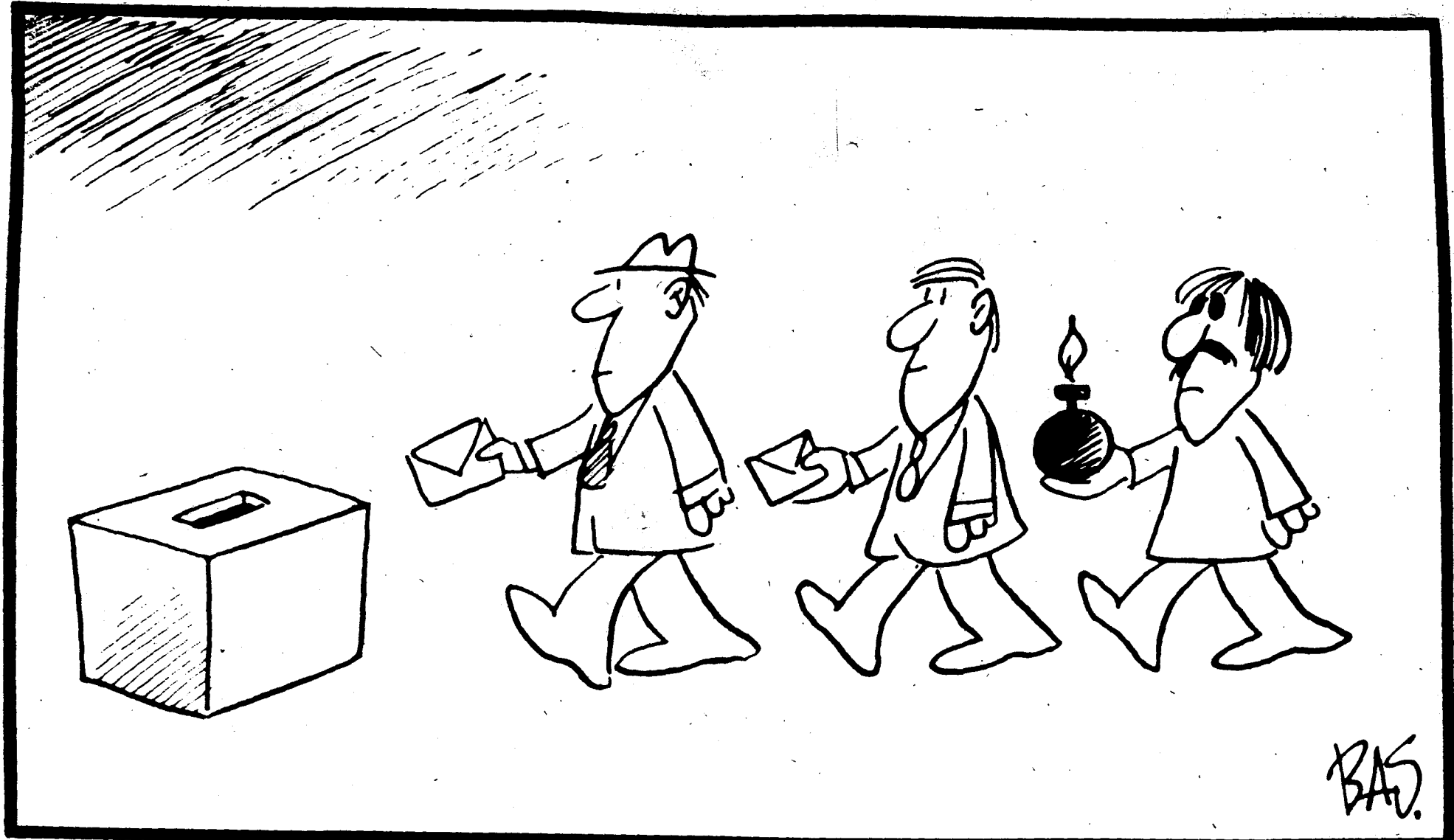
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ITALY

Red Brigades leave mark on elections

The current unreality may aid the eccentric Radical Party.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE RED BRIGADES OPENED the month-long Italian parliamentary election campaign in their own fashion, calling for bullets to replace ballots. At 9:30 on the morning of May 3, a group of about 15 well-armed men and women, described by eye-witnesses as "very young" and "respectable-looking," took over the local headquarters of the Christian Democratic party (DC) on the pretty little Piazza Nicosia near the Tiber in the labyrinthine heart of Rome. Office staff were captured and sent running out of the building seconds before four bombs set by the invaders exploded, ravaging the premises. The blasts did not destroy the spray-paint interior decorating accomplished by the Red Brigades during the quarter of an hour they spent there: their star trademark and declaration of purpose: "we shall transform the phoney elections into class war."

In making their getaway, the raiders shot and killed one policeman and seriously wounded two others.

Despite converging squad cars and helicopters buzzing overhead, the attackers all vanished safely into Rome's incomparably tangled urban landscape.

Italy may have the world's most inefficient police, but they may also be the most popular, for that very reason. There is ready public sympathy for these young men who have never done any harm to anybody, certainly not to any criminal or terrorist, and who end up getting shot dead while working to support their wives and children.

At least compared to the Italian police, the Red Brigades look impressively professional. In a free society, is it really such an amazing feat for a dozen heavily armed people to invade and wreck a lightly guarded political office?

Newspapers and politicians seemed to think so, which was enough to make the operation a big success. A chorus of statements and editorials announced an escalation from "terrorism" to "urban guerrilla warfare." This shift in terminology favors the argument (being voiced here and there) that the army should be sent

in to smash the elusive enemy.

A first step in that direction was taken on the anniversary of the murder of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades, when the caretaker government of Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti ordered the army to protect political figures and premises during the campaign.

There were dangerous signs that the famous Italian capacity to adjust to confusion was wearing thin and that some people were getting rattled by constant Red Brigade attacks. A Rome DC official who figured the May 3 raiders had come after him (he was luckily not in his office at the time) was heard shouting afterwards: "This is enough. Either the government does something or we'll defend ourselves. We too can use guns..."

Italy has a large number of fascist thugs who know how to use weapons. There is no telling what sort of activities political and business leaders might end up financing if they got scared enough.

Meanwhile, none of the "superwitnesses" or "superclues" rumored in the press had turned up to prove that Prof. Toni Negri, in jail since April 7, is really the "mastermind" behind the Red Brigades. Padua magistrate Pietro Calogero's case against Negri sounds hypothetical, based on intellectual hunch. Calogero sees the "Workers Autonomy" ("Autop" for short) movement, of which Negri is a main theoretician, as the "sea" for the guerrilla "fish" of the Red Brigades (BR) and other terrorist groups. Even if Autop leaders criticize Red Brigade violence as elitist, this theory goes, they provide a mass recruiting base for terrorist teams, as well as logistic and political support.

According to Calogero, this coordination between the BR and Autop is no accident, but was worked out in advance by Negri and other leaders of Potere Operaio (Workers Power, known as "Potop"), which only pretended to break up in 1973. In reality, insists Calogero, Potop deliberately split into two secretly coordinated branches, designed to build the "armed party" that would lead the revolution in Italy by solving the tricky problem of how to combine clandestine military operations with open political activity.

If one accepts the possibility that even a university professor might be dishonest in advancing his political aims, Calogero's

hypothesis might make sense. But it ain't necessarily so. Other hypotheses flourish, including one that the government simply wants to use guilt by association to persecute the whole far left.

But Calogero's hypothesis is plausible enough that civil libertarians have been slow to demand Negri's release. Negri's academic friends in Paris (where he taught last year) have not been able to round up the big-name French intellectuals previously willing to sign any denunciation of "oppression in Italy." After the 1969 Piazza Fontana fascist bombing in Milan was pinned on anarchists, a lot of people tended to assume that all violence, even with a red label, was the work of fascists or secret police. When leftist publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli was blown up under a high tension pole in a field near Milan on March 15, 1972, much of the European left was sincerely outraged by the "fascist plot" responsible for the publisher's death. Over the years it has become clearer and clearer that Feltrinelli indeed blew himself up playing proletarian guerrilla. In the land of Machiavelli, why couldn't Negri, who's supposed to be so smart, be faking his opposition to the Red Brigades?

The current climate of political unreality seems to favor the fortunes of Italy's most eccentric and theatrical parliamentary group, the Radical Party. Polls indicate its share of the vote may rise from a tiny 1.5 percent to 5 percent in the June elections. The Radicals are middle-class activists who know how to capture the attention of the media to promote such libertarian causes as legalization of divorce, of abortion and of marijuana. The Radicals' flamboyant leader, Marco Pannella, hogs the political stage as if he were in the *commedia dell'arte*, playing his role to the hilt with an exhibitionism that horrifies the sober and disciplined Italian Communist party (PCI). He is on hunger strike about half the time, for one cause or another, with no visible effect on his imposing physical presence. While the PCI tries earnestly to get everybody to play the political game by the rules, Pannella disrupts it. A favorite Radical activity is petition drives for national referendums on thorny questions that the big parties would rather not confront directly. Current pet issues include nuclear

power and abolition of military courts. To show its internationalism, the party picked an unknown young French antimilitarist, Jean Fabre, as its current secretary general.

For the June elections, the Radical Party has succeeded in getting some surprising big names on its list of candidates, notably Sicilian writer Leonardo Sciascia, whose fiction prophesied Aldo Moro's death at the hands of terrorists. Sciascia ran for Palermo city council a few years ago on the PCI ticket, but resigned when he concluded that the PCI was not really going to change things.

Sciascia and some other intellectuals no doubt appreciate that Pannella, unlike other political leaders, does not react to Red Brigade violence by rallying to the support of the "system." Pannella blames the violence on the system itself, "based on trickery, lies and abuses."

As the country's most conspicuous advocate of non-violence, Pannella can get away with this without risking the suspicion that would fall on other parties—especially the PCI—if it made such statements.

Pannella can hope for votes from veterans of such collapsed new left groups as Lotta Continua who are appalled by the Red Brigades and bored by the PCI. At least the Radicals put on a good show.

Pannella has outraged PCI leaders by suggesting that Red Brigades terrorism has roots in the anti-fascist resistance. The PCI regularly appeals to the ideal of the resistance, which brought together democrats of varying persuasions, as the common heritage that should draw all the democratic parties together today against the terrorist threat to democracy. But even ideals have their lifespans, and the unifying ideal of the resistance may be wearing out—especially from being parodied by today's urban guerrillas. Starting with Feltrinelli, the "armed party" in its various forms has frequently posed as a "resistance" organized in anticipation of expected right-wing military coup and dictatorship. Perhaps this has only made a real military dictatorship more likely and a real resistance less possible. For those who despair of breaking out of the political stalemate, but would rather laugh than fight, Pannella seems to offer an alternative.

CHINA/VIETNAM

China army used human wave tactic

By Wilfred Burchett

LANGSON, VIETNAM

A PART FROM THE FACT THAT brass bugles have been replaced by plastic ones, there seems little difference in the equipment of the Chinese forces that attacked across the Vietnamese border on Feb. 17, and that used by the Chinese People's "Volunteers" in Korea 28 years earlier. Fighting methods remained the same. Human wave tactics of throwing away lives in absorbing the defender's bullets while the survivors pressed on in sufficient numbers to overwhelm the enemy's defenses.

One of the last offensive actions at Langson was repeated cavalry charges across the 50-meter wide, shallow Ky Kong river, which neatly cuts Langson city in two. Chinese forces occupied West Langson, but needed to cross into East Langson if they were to continue south to Hanoi. Wave after wave of horse-borne troops tried to ford the river and were mown down to the last man and rider until they gave up.

From bank to bank masses of horses were piled up, lashing out in their death agonies, their dying cavaliers riddled with bullets—such a compact mass of dead and dying that the river waters started backing up for several hundred yards.

It would be mistaken to judge the strength of China's armed forces by the lamentable performance in the Vietnam invasion. The elite divisions are up north confronting the million-odd Soviet troops, and that is where the best of their tanks and artillery are located. But it seems that basic infantry tactics still consist of "human wave," with disregard for losses. By all accounts, the troops are trained as automata, conditioned by the blowing of bugles to advance, halt, retreat.

"Their tactics never varied," said Vy Ngoc Quen, a senior cadre at the Langson Provincial Communist Party headquarters, responsible for overall defense of the province. "A bugler in front signalling the orders, an officer—pistol in hand—behind to threaten the waverers. To try to take mountain peaks by human wave tactics is terribly costly." It was the reason why in the areas of deepest penetration, the Chinese advanced at two



Vietnamese soldiers on their way to the front.

kilometers per day while in the most decisive Langson Pass area, it was barely one kilometer. They confronted only frontier guards, the local population and regional troops. Vietnam's regular divisions were positioned to move into action only if there was a breakthrough along the route to Hanoi. According to Vietnamese military sources, the cost was 10 percent of the invasion force, 62,000 casualties of a force of 44 divisions, or 600,000 men.

China's losses are bound to contribute to a bitter debate within Peking's top military hierarchy as to the form of weapons modernization and everything that goes with it. According to western military "China-watchers" in Hong Kong, there was a meeting of the top military leaders in Peking last July, attended by members of the Military Committee, of the Communist Party's Central Committee. It is headed by Hua Kuo-fen and included four vice-chairmen—all Marshalls Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Po-ch'eng, Deng Xiaoping, Hsiao Hsiang-ch'ien (concurrently Minister of Defense). Also attend-

ing were key officers from the Defense Ministry, including one of Deng Xiaoping's most stalwart supporters, the powerful commander of the Canton military region, believed to have commanded the Vietnam invasion. In order to decide on what type of new weapons questions of basic strategy had to be hammered out.

Deng Xiaoping—looking to the U.S. for the military hardware of "modernization"—apparently leaked some details of the meeting while in the U.S. to illustrate the type of problems he faced. One point of dissension was between the "active defense" group, which advocated "luring the enemy in deep," obviously with the Soviet Union in mind and the "cross-border counter-attack" group, which Deng favored but was in a minority.

Veteran Marshal Nien Jung-chen criticized those who claimed that the concepts of People's War are no longer valid in modern combat. But the human wave tactic is evidence that China still uses tactics made obsolete by the development of modern weapons. It was valid against troops using single-shot, bolt-action rifles. They simply could not reload swiftly enough to halt an enemy racing towards them. Every shot could go home but they could not shoot enough down quickly enough to avoid being overrun. But with modern automatic weapons, spitting death at a hundred or more times the speed of the old rifles, the human waves are simply mown down, wave after wave before they get even into grenade-throwing range.

"Active defense" was obviously Mao's concept of how to defend Chinese territory, the "cross-border counter-attack" is a strategy of attack and corresponds to what the Vietnamese call the expansionist or "hegemonistic" mood of the present Chinese leadership.

The big problem after having chosen the new weapons suitable to the strategy (or strategies) adopted is to develop a military doctrine appropriate to the capacities of those weapons. It would mean, for a start, persuading those aged military leaders to vote themselves out of office. With the exception of Hua Kuo-feng they are almost all in their seventies. (Marshal Liu Po-ch'eng is nearly 86.) They were great in the Long March, the anti-Japanese war and even the civil war against the Kuomintang. But they are incapable of presiding over the recycling of the entire officer corps, essential to master the new tactical and technical methods of warfare made possible—and imperative—by modern weapons. The task could take an entire generation. It is doubtful that Peking could contemplate a "second round" with Vietnam with the present state of its armed forces—although they

are building jump-off points in the Langson frontier area, with roads leading to them.

Another question is what sort of ideology they plan for their armed forces. Formerly, the armed forces were considered as the organization with the most highly concentrated level of political consciousness, including a high sense of international solidarity. But the units that came into Vietnam were a carbon copy of the old feudal invaders, massacring civilians, raping (very rare in Mao's army) pillaging and with obvious instructions—as in the days of yore—to destroy all cultural symbols, everything that reminded Vietnamese not only of their millenia-long resistance to foreign invaders but of their recent revolutionary past. Langson was totally destroyed, not in the heat of battle, but mainly by explosive charges used to blow up libraries, schools, hospitals, churches, factories—the lot. They could have been the Mongols of the 13th century or the Tsings of the 18th—the last to invade until the Kua-Tengs on Feb. 17—the aim was total destruction. It was even worse—although I cannot imagine how that is possible, not having yet been there—in Cao Bang. The total nature of the destruction prompted Madame Ngo Ba Thanh, whose passionate denunciation of human rights violations under the Saigon dictatorship earned her five years in Saigon's jails, to demand that the Chinese responsible should be "tried by humanity for their crimes, the gravest ever recorded in the history of international criminology." Writing in the Saigon Giai Phong daily, after a visit to the frontier areas, Madame Ngo Ba Thanh, a prestigious French and U.S.-trained jurist, said:

"The Peking leaders have removed their masks of hypocrites. Their troops showed themselves to be the most cruel bandits. They have massacred Vietnamese, irrespective of age, not even sparing pregnant women. They applied the policy of 'kill all, burn all, loot all,' plundering food crops, killing cattle, destroying the means of production and property of the Vietnamese people. They have razed to the ground towns and townships, blown up factories, schools, hospitals, historical and cultural relics.

"In particular, the Chinese aggressors blew up the Pak Bo grotto (in Cao Bang province) where President Ho Chi Minh lived and worked in the first period after his return from abroad, to lead the Vietnamese revolution.

The Pak Bo grotto was a national shrine and museum, a place of pilgrimage for Vietnamese from all over the country. It will take a lot of forbearance and spirit of forgiveness for the Vietnamese people to forgive the Chinese leadership for that. ■

Viet head scores China

HANOI

In reaction to the reported remarks of China's Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in Peking on March 2, that China might have to "teach Vietnam a second lesson," Vietnam's Prime Minister Pham Van Dong told me that Peking had "badly understood the development and dynamics of history" and that it remained to be seen if the Chinese people would permit them to continue on their present course.

Referring to the Chinese proposals in the present round of Hanoi-Peking talks, Premier Pham Van Dong said: "They have a superiority complex and have lost a balanced view of the most elementary things. In our war against the U.S., the Americans thought that because of their many billions of dollars they could ignore fundamental human factors.

"Peking's leaders today, because they have about a billion people, think they can ignore the intelligence and human dignity of our people. Both were wrong."

As for the charges of Vietnamese "provocations" against China in the border areas, used by Deng Xiaoping in his warnings to Secretary-General Waldheim as the reasons for a possible second "lesson-teaching" operation, the Vietnamese Prime Minister said, "There are no such provocations. We are very correct and prudent. We remain honest. We were edu-

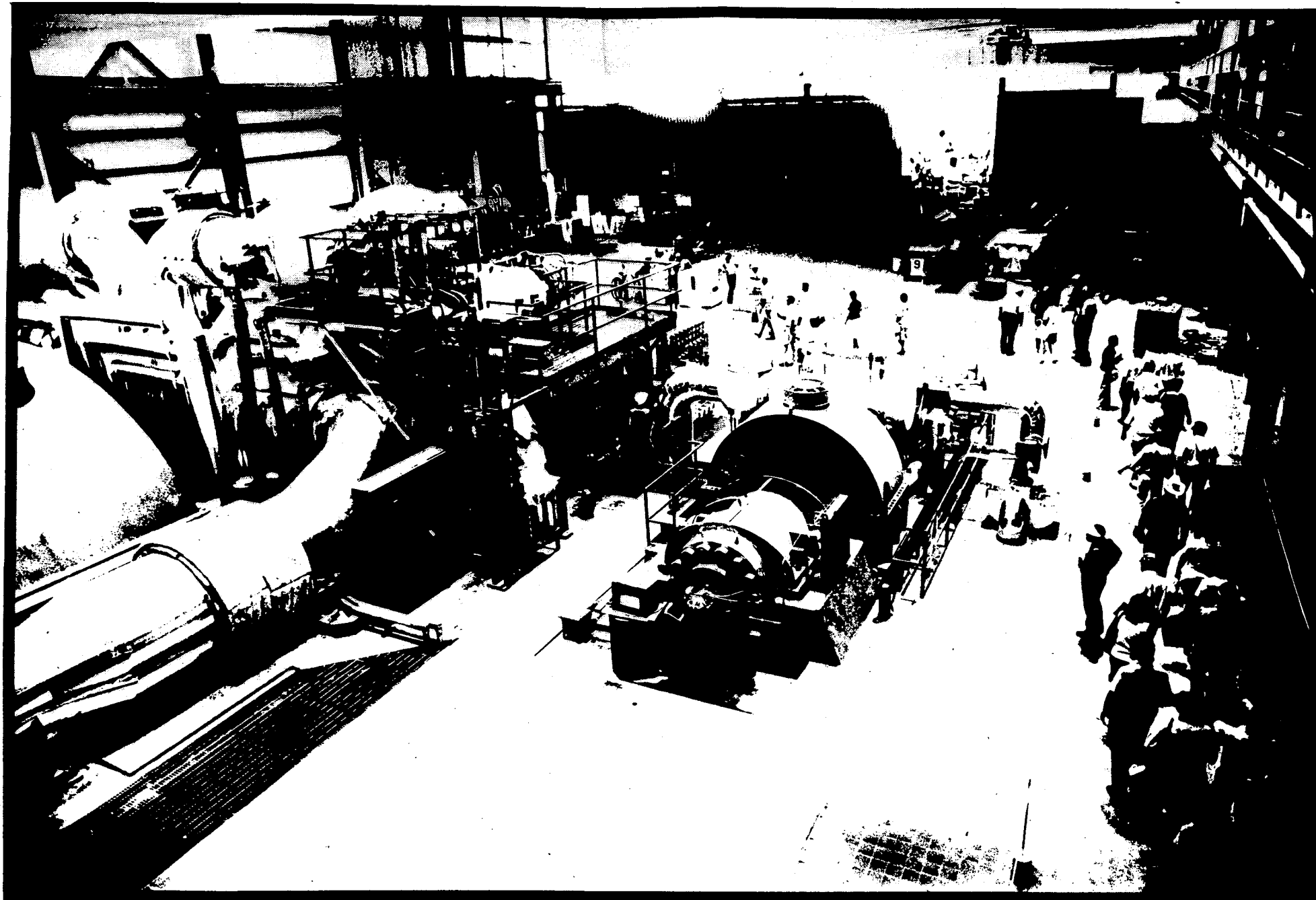
cated by Ho Chi Minh to be frank and straightforward.

"Machiavellian means are not in our arsenal. Kissinger thought we knew nothing about the art of diplomacy, but we remained as we are and he came off second best. He never digested his defeat and now he seems to be advising Deng Xiaoping in Peking. Let's see how that works out."

Pham Van Dong does not anticipate an early end to confrontation with Peking. "It will be a long, long term process," he said. "No good can come from trying to take short cuts. China will continue to try to create difficulties for us in every field, military, political, economic and diplomatic. We are well prepared for this. But we have also developed such policies that will permit us to go ahead and develop our economy and raise our living standards." He expressed the conviction that China's long-term aims to expand into Southeast Asia have historically been blocked by Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. These former states of French Indochina have been an obstacle to such aims.

"Our struggle is not only to save ourselves," he said. "We have also fulfilled the mission of preventing China's expansion. We think other countries in the region will eventually see it that way. Our appeals to work together for peace in the region are not empty words, as time will show."

—Wilfred Burchett



PLUGGING IN PUBLIC POWER

By Josh Martin

AS THE U.S. BRACES FOR ITS WORST ENERGY CRISIS since the Arab oil embargo of 1973-74, a major energy debate is unfolding. Crucial to it is the question: Will our power systems remain part of the private economy, or should they be run in the public sector? ¶The forum of debate will soon shift from Cleveland, where voters recently opted to keep their municipal electric utility, to New York City, where community groups, energy activists and liberal politicians are talking about municipalizing the Consolidated Edison Company. ¶Con Ed has the largest number of customers of any single utility, save the telephone company, in one of the nation's smallest service areas. Complex environmental and operational laws do not prevent it from posting one of the highest earnings records in the utility field. Con Ed is the nation's third largest private utility, with assets of \$7 billion and revenues exceeding \$2 billion (the total assets of all public power systems in the country do not exceed \$18 billion.)

The average annual utility bill paid in America has grown from \$89 in 1960 to over \$300 today. But New Yorkers' utility bills are the highest in the U.S., twice the national average. These high rates have had a disastrous effect on consumers, businesses and government alike. They were a major factor in the exodus of the middle class to suburbia, and have been called the biggest single factor driving businesses out of the region. In the process, New York City alone has lost

more than 500,000 jobs and billions of tax revenue dollars over the past decade.

Moves to municipalize Con Ed, which serves New York City and its neighbor to the north, Westchester County, have been spurred by political and economic considerations. Widespread public outcry over rate increases regularly granted to the utility by an accommodating state Public Service Commission has prompted politicians like Westchester County executive Alfred Del Bello and Manhattan Borough president Andrew Stein to explore the feasibility of government ownership.

The public power movement in New York state is not limited to these two regions, by any means. In fact, public power has had the greatest success in normally conservative upstate regions. Towns like Massena and Sherrill have successfully taken over their utilities (Sherrill's rates dropped 25 percent when it municipalized), and municipalization drives are go-

ing on in Buffalo, Rochester, Ithaca, Utica and other upstate cities. There are also two county-wide drives.

The public power movement in this region derives one of its biggest strengths—organization—from the pooled efforts of consumer, environmentalist and labor groups. Indeed, the New York state labor action coalition, which represents 43 unions with statewide membership exceeding 70,000, was set up in 1975 "to fight the utility ripoff." Individual unions—notably the UAW and the Civil Service Employees Association—have played a key role.

John Zogby, who as a leader of the Utica citizens lobby is active in municipalization efforts there, says that public power groups must get politically involved. Get public power advocates elected, he says, so feasibility studies and referendum can be approved.

Massena illustrates the problems. It took over ten years for the town to take over the facilities owned by the Niagara-Mohawk Power Company. Although Massena voters backed public power in a referendum, a series of legal and political battles with the private utilities delayed municipalization until the courts ruled that the town could indeed condemn the utility's property as part of the takeover process. Ironically, Massena is only a few miles from one of the world's largest hydroelectric projects, that generates cheap electric power for a state-owned system.

The upstate groups are optimistic about municipalization. Indeed, Jinx Dowd, director of the labor action coalition, believes "New York may be the first state

to adopt public power statewide since Nebraska back in the '30s."

Municipalization of an existing private system is no easy task. First, a plan must be put in order, one that would provide for the purchase of the existing utility's facilities and the subsequent operation of a public power system. Since it is unlikely the private utility wants to sell, the property would have to be condemned and then purchased by the government, a *pro forma* action. Because the purchase would be funded through the sale of government bonds, and would have to be approved by voters in a referendum, mandated either by public petition or legislative act.

Aside from purely technical problems stemming from a transfer, public power is a politically charged issue. In New York City, Con Ed maintains a multi-million dollar lobbying effort, one of the largest of any interest group, and it influences public opinion through a variety of advertising and publicity campaigns. Thus, the utility that gave New Yorkers two of the world's costliest blackouts, and which charges the nation's highest rates, has fostered an image of efficiency while labelling public power a risky, debt-ridden venture.

According to the American Public Power Association (APPA), public utilities charge less than their private counterparts in virtually every major operating expense category. Even so, the U.S. remains one of the few industrial countries with a preponderance of privately-owned utilities, serving over 75 percent of the nation's electricity users. Only Nebraska and Washington State are wholly or substantially serviced by public systems.

Many communities are now choosing public control. Thirty-five local, publicly-owned electric systems have been created by voters in 17 states since 1960. Thirty are municipal, two are area-wide bulk power supply systems, and one is county-owned. The 2,375 public utilities now in operation range in size from Los Angeles' Department of Water and Power, serving over a million customers, down to the utility operated by Separation, Kansas, which has all of 53 customers.

The involvement of the federal government since the 1930s in developing hydro electric power in the Midwest and Far West gave rise to modern public utilities. Los Angeles, San Juan, Memphis, San Antonio, Seattle, Phoenix, Omaha and Nashville are but a few of the major cities that enjoy the benefits of public power systems created out of federal hydro-electric and rural electrification projects. In all these cases, while the initial investment (dam and generation construction costs) was high, the subsequent cost of power was extremely low, since the only expenses were those involving dam and power line maintenance.

How low? Seattle's mayor Charles Royer, appearing before hearings on "The Future of Energy in New York City," held last June under the chairmanship of Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein, testified that his city-owned system produces 500 kilowatt hours of electricity at a consumer cost of less than \$6, while the New York City customer must pay Con Ed over \$43 for the same amount of power.

One reason for the difference, Royer explained, was that Seattle had cheaper means of producing power: hydro-electricity from the giant dams of the Northwest. But public ownership of the electric utility is the crucial cost factor.

Public utilities, unlike Con Ed and other private systems, pay no dividends or federal income taxes on profits. In the case of Con Ed, \$301.4 million that is paid out as earnings for common and preferred stock would be eliminated, as would \$108 million in federal income taxes and \$117 million in New York state taxes.

Public utilities also pay lower interest charges because their bonds are tax-exempt. Richard Schrader, research director for the New York consumer group POWER (People Outraged With Energy Rates), estimates that Con Ed interest charges would be at least \$43 million less if it were a public utility.

Third, public systems are run more efficiently. A report by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission indicates that

public utilities are more economical, especially in areas such as accounting, collections, administrative expenses and production and transmission expenses. They are also more innovative in terms of exploring new energy sources and conservation techniques.

Con Ed has been remarkably inefficient in its use of resources, even for a private utility. Long-range forecasts by Con Ed show a decrease in regional power needs at the very time the utility pushes for massive investments in nuclear energy by building four new plants around the state. Yet Con Ed scarcely uses the plants it already has to capacity: it keeps a reserve of approximately 37 percent at a time when most utilities find 20 to 25 percent sufficient.

Environmentally, Con Edison leaves much to be desired. It has been cited by federal environmental authorities as one of the two most frequent violators of emission standards at its power plants, and even now is pressing hard for authorization to use cheaper high-sulphur fuel oil even though consumers may never see the savings. And, in the face of radiation pollution dangers, it has been one of the nation's biggest proponents of nuclear power, when soaring uranium prices have long since removed economic justification.

Municipalization would not solve all New York's energy problems. Unlike the large public systems of the West and Midwest, New York City does not have convenient access to cheap hydro-electric power. It must purchase such power from PASNY, the New York state-owned system, or from Hydro-Quebec in Canada. New

York City is also unique in that it would have to shoulder the expense of maintaining an underground cable system, adding greatly to operating costs. Subsurface cables cost eight times their surface equivalents to install, and are costly to maintain and repair.

But the savings accrued through the efficiency of public ownership would more than offset these costs. According to a feasibility study conducted by the R.W. Beck consulting firm for Westchester County's Alfred Del Bello, should the county take over Con Ed's operations at an estimated cost of \$550 million, the projected savings over a five-year period on completion of municipalization in 1982 would come to over \$367 million. In ten years, utility rates would be at least 20 percent less than those charged by Con Ed.

Could New York City afford to purchase the utility? Con Ed estimates that a takeover would cost the city \$12 billion and entail a payroll increase of 21,000 workers. Further, the utility states that the city would, upon municipalization, lose out on over \$294 million a year in real estate taxes it collects from the utility. These constitute 8 percent of the city's total real estate tax revenues; Con Ed is the biggest taxpayer in town.

However, the threat of a dramatic drop in tax revenues as a result of municipalization does not appear to have a basis in fact. According to an APPA survey of 380 public utilities, 82 percent made in-lieu-of-tax payments.

Investment analysts for leading New York City banks, that would provide the needed municipalization funds through bond sales, estimate the purchase of Con Ed would cost \$8 billion, only two-thirds

Westchester blackouts Con Ed

N WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N.Y., HOMEOWNERS STOPPED CON ED'S proposed construction of a wholly-redundant 18-mile 345,000-volt transmission line on 135-foot high steel towers. The line was part of a shrewd attempt to sidestep thousands of upcoming blackout-connected damage suits that could threaten the economic stability of the entire publicly-held Con Ed company. The 1977 total power loss, presently ascribed by Con Ed to a severe lightning storm near Indian Point, N.Y., on July 13 (an "Act of God" with damages unrecoverable under law), was marked by widespread inner city looting and tens of millions of dollars worth of small business destruction, with thousands of arrests. Immediate engineering investigations were launched by the city, state and federal governments—and by the utility itself.

Con Ed's findings were predictable. With an eye toward the mountain of possible negligence claims, the company not only insisted that lightning was the basic cause of the outage, but cleverly buttressed this position by petitioning the New York State Public Service Commission for permission to construct a new alternate—"lightning-proof"—power route.

Con Ed is trying to pass off as Acts of God what are really Acts of Man. Writing in the September, 1978, issue of *Science*, Philip M. Boffey, member of the editorial board of the *New York Times*, listed 16 counts of corporate negligence and human misjudgment in Con Ed's 1977 "Act of God" blackout.

Governmental investigative reports called for "radical reforms, including economic sanctions against Con Ed's stockholders for unreliable performance, the addition of consumer members to Con Ed's board, and a new corporation to operate transmission lines in the state." Terrified by such recommendations—and by looming blackout damage suits—the utility took evasive action, declaring it would reorganize Westchester power lines.

After a massive and secret crash engineering project during the summer of 1978—once corporate brass had given approval—Con Ed quietly filed with the New York State Public Service Commission a 250-page formal application, com-

aerial photographs and maps. The utility proposed two new 345,000-volt overhead power circuits running along a circuitous route from the Hudson River across the wooded hills of northern residential Westchester—straddling three public parks en route.

To try to knock out any opposition to and facilitate speedy work on the proposal, Con Ed requested waiver of a ten-page list of local environmental "laws, ordinances and regulations... because their application might be unduly restrictive to the construction of the proposed facility." This would have nullified two decades of local protective legislation.

Disclosure of the utility's application by an investigative reporter for a local county newspaper, Yorktown Heights' *North County News*, came on Nov. 29. (The *New York Times*, New York City's "newspaper of record," ignored the growing Westchester uproar until 67 days later.)

Within weeks, homeowners in all five townships affected by Con Ed's proposal had mobilized committees; almost 40 individuals and organizations had sought and were granted legal "intervenor" status by the state's Public Service Commission.

The towns rallied officially to seek legal counsel. The PSC's first step was two public hearings in Chappaqua, N.Y., on Feb. 8 and 9, presided over by one of the Commission's administrative law judges. Six hundred angry Westchester citizens overflowed the meetings, which lasted into the evening of each day.

Television news coverage, while charitable, was best characterized by NBC's Bill Ryan's summation: "This looks like a rougher fight than most, but in the end

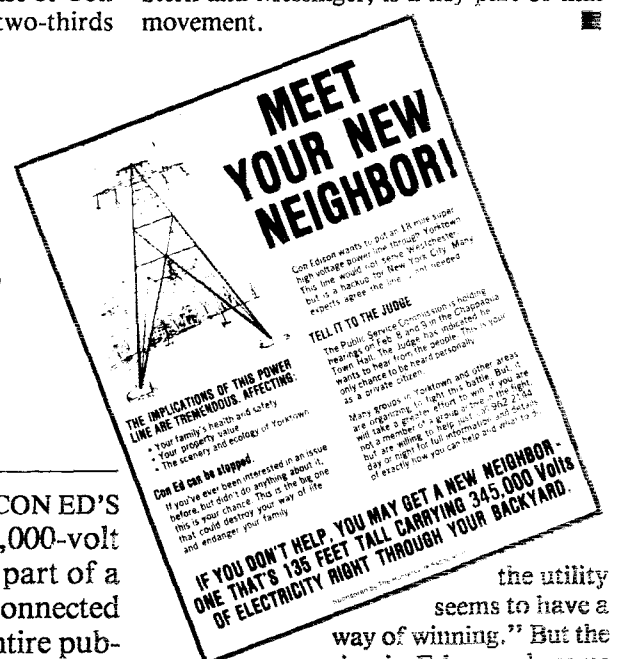
of Con Ed's estimate. Investment bankers may well look favorably on a city takeover because a public utility is not subject to the usual government restrictions and would not face the same tax burden as its private counterpart.

Public support for public power has grown in direct relation to increases in private utility rates, but conservative opposition has stymied legislative attempts to investigate municipalization. The New York City Council formed a Public Utility Review Board in late 1978 to investigate the possibility of municipalization, but conservative Council leadership vetoed the appointment of Robert Lekachman, a noted economics professor, to head the board. Other avenues—public petition or executive action—would be necessary for municipalization to make any legislative advance.

New York councilmembers Henry Stern and Ruth Messinger see the need for an effective review board to influence Con Ed policy makers. "It puts them on notice," said Messinger, who noted that a strong board could provide alternatives to totally private or public utility systems.

Schrader and others see the need for a feasibility study. "Questions of rate design, shut-off policies, questions of what type of plants, or of what type of energy the city should commit its resources to—I think on those questions the community certainly has to have some input."

If, as Cleveland's mayor Dennis Kucinich maintains, a "new urban populism" is abroad in the land, the public power advocacy espoused by Stein and Del Bello, Stern and Messinger, is a key part of that movement.



EDITORIAL

Malign neglect and solar reconstruction

The Three Mile Island incident and the May 6th anti-nuclear rally in Washington, D.C., may well have inaugurated a new political era in the U.S. They may yet prove to have precipitated that "critical realignment" of party politics that knowledgeable observers have seen as strongly latent in the current American scene.

Barry Commoner may not have been wide of the mark when, in proclaiming, "the Solar Age has begun" and "the Nuclear Age is dying," he predicted that the rally signified "a new age in the nation's history."

Two powerful reasons support Commoner's view. First, the battle over energy goes to the very heart of the political and economic structure of corporate America. Second, that battle is no longer confined to quarreling elites but, in palpably affecting the lives and living standards of all Americans, it has come into the nation's homes and streets as the major issue in American politics, around which a popular movement has emerged that is different from other such American movements in the recent past.

The energy issue touches the very structure of American society in certain basic ways:

- Upon its outcome depends whether modern industrial society is to have relatively cheap or increasingly expensive energy. Because that will determine the availability of goods and services, it will also determine whether American society will move toward greater or lesser social equality and democratic liberties.

- To the extent that capitalism throws in its lot with expensive energy, and hence with rising scarcity along with deepening inequality, it must surrender its traditional claims both to being the equivalent of economic efficiency and the condition of a democratic society. It must force Americans seeking both efficiency and democracy—not to mention a safe environment—to seek also an alternative to capitalism.

- In so far as private ownership in energy obstructs the efforts to shift from more expensive to cheaper energy sources, it will demonstrate in a way easily graspable by the popular mind that capitalism stands in the way of economic well-being and democratic aspirations.

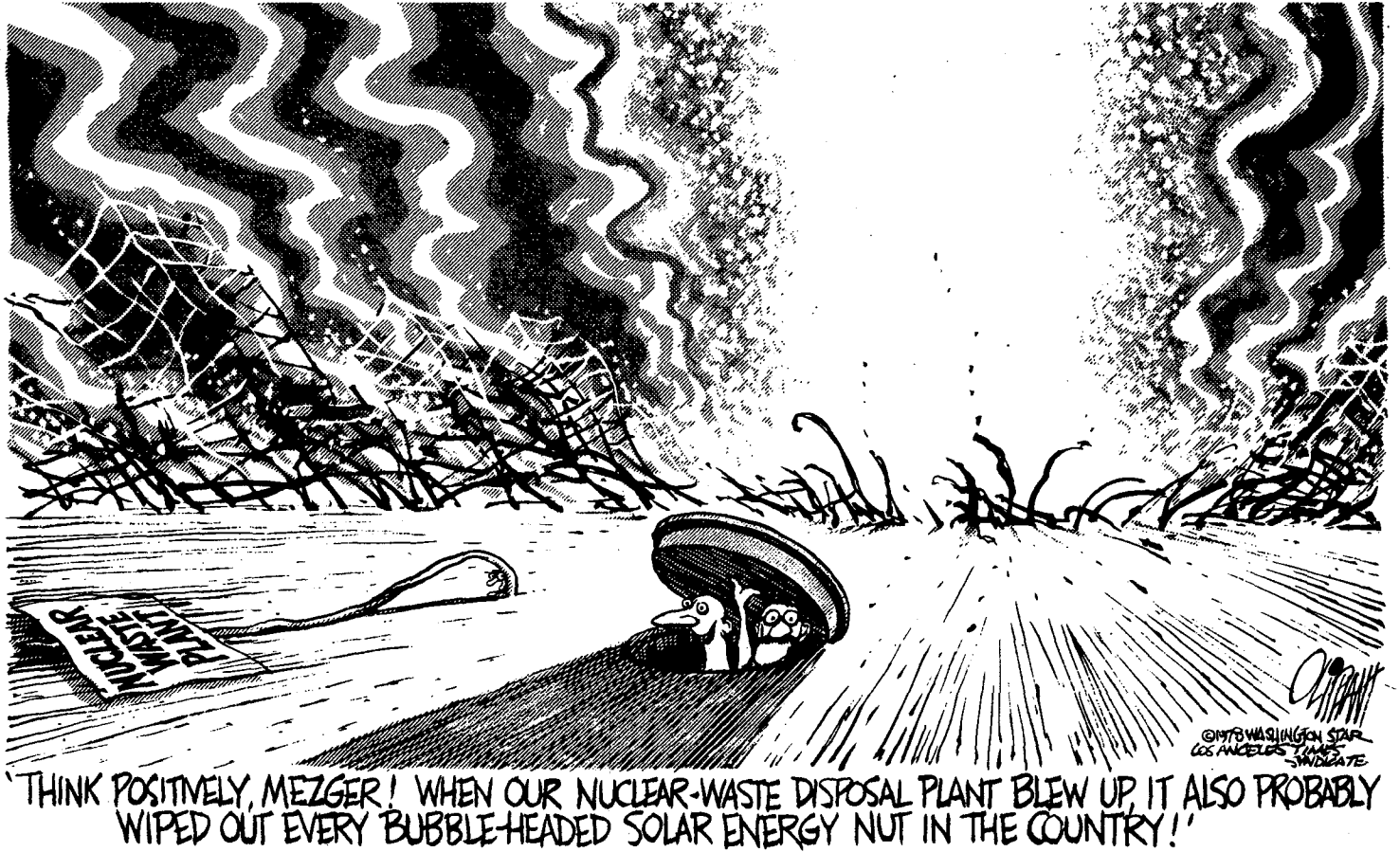
- To the extent that the government acts as the protector of expensive energy and of its corporate owners, it exposes "regulation" as a smokescreen for special private interests instead of the guardian of the public welfare. It further erodes popular confidence in the government and in the major parties controlling it.

- More than any other issue, energy reveals the reality of the Corporate State behind the facade of the "welfare" or "regulatory" state. It is forcing all those whose interests conflict with expensive energy into a politics that must collide head on with the private investment system and the "regulatory" Corporate State. "Deregulation" may come to mean not a "freer market," but public enterprise.

It is no accident that not only Barry Commoner or William Winpisinger, but, in seeking a popular base, Gov. Jerry Brown also is talking of public ownership as the alternative to "regulated" monopoly in the energy field.

In strongly backing nuclear energy, President Carter has chosen expensive energy and its corporate purveyors—the big utilities, the GE's, the Westinghouses, the Bechtels, and the big financiers allied with them. There is no compelling technological or purely economic reason for making that choice.

The claims of the government and in-



"THINK POSITIVELY, MEZZGER! WHEN OUR NUCLEAR-WASTE DISPOSAL PLANT BLEW UP, IT ALSO PROBABLY WIPED OUT EVERY BUBBLE-HEADED SOLAR ENERGY NUT IN THE COUNTRY!"

dustry that nuclear energy is safe, cheap, and indispensable are no longer tenable. After Three Mile Island and the revelations quickly following it concerning the hazards of radiation, nuclear waste disposal, inadequate knowledge and design, and industry and government lying to the public, only a lunatic—or special pleader—can still contend it is safe. Understanding is growing that nuclear energy—whether for power or for weapons—is a clearly present danger and a dire threat to humanity's future.

Nor can those risks be defended any more as worth taking because nuclear power is relatively cheap and indispensable. We now know that the rising costs of nuclear energy make it more expensive than other energy sources. The industry's own trade association's data show that the cost of electricity from new nuclear power plants in 1976 was about 20 percent higher than electricity from new coal-fired plants, emission controls and all. The investment analyst Saunders Miller concluded from such data that to rely on nuclear fission "will constitute economic lunacy on a scale unparalleled in recorded history, and may lead to the economic Waterloo of the United States."

Beyond this, we now also know from authorities like Commoner, Charles Komanoff, and from government studies swept under the rug, that nuclear power is far from indispensable. They show that conservation, understood not simply as "saving" or "doing without," but as raising energy's productivity to produce more with less energy, is readily available with today's technology. Combining conservation with cogeneration, hydro-energy, and the development of solar (including photovoltaic electricity, wind, ocean thermal, and biomass), the industrial economies can have cheaper energy than with nuclear, and hence greater growth and jobs.

The expensive nuclear route, tied as it is to equally expensive oil, and blocking the development of cheaper, safer, renewable energy sources, must intensify the energy crisis and all its inevitable effects: inflation, lagging investment and hence rising unemployment, declining living standards for the working class, and the chronic threat of economic depression.

Yet the Carter administration is taking the nuclear route.

As revealed in the June issue of *Mother*

Jones, Carter met secretly last June with nuclear industry executives representing such corporate giants as Commonwealth Edison, GE, Westinghouse, Duke Power, General Public Utilities and Babcock & Wilcox (of TMI fame), Rockwell International, and Bechtel, and made a commitment to aggressive support for nuclear power, including the development of the breeder reactor. In his support for relaxed licensing and in his statements since TMI, he has consistently kept that commitment, in spite of his earlier campaign pledge to treat nuclear power as an energy source of last resort and to surround it with the most stringent safety precautions.

What are the "compelling" reasons for Carter's malign neglect of solar and so adamant a pro-nuclear stand? They cannot lie in some wise foresight into what's best for the nation's economic future. And, given the declining popularity of nuclear power, they cannot lie in some shrewd calculus looking toward electoral success in 1980. The reasons must lie, then, in the demands of corporate politics and a short-sighted strategy of protecting the Corporate State.

Here, we must make some reasonable inferences.

The shift to a solar-based energy system would upset huge private property interests, jeopardizing the entire corporate capitalist structure. The collapse of utilities' securities markets and the structure of income and credit built upon it, with the shift away from nuclear, might not only bring on a financial panic. It would provide an irresistible impulse toward public ownership of the power industry, as private investors would be helpless to lend any substantial aid. It would create a "dangerous" socialist precedent. Even short of a panic, the rapid development of solar energy, as Gov. Brown conceded (*Chicago Sun-Times*, May 3), cannot depend on private investors. It must involve direct public investment and ownership, and raise a "socialist" competitor to the expensive private energy sector.

More immediately, if TMI or unfavorable government policy were to result in a moratorium on further nuclear plant construction, the consequent investment chill could throw capitalism into a depression.

The *Wall Street Journal* (April 10) re-

ported that 1978 outlays on nuclear power plants accounted for 36.3 percent of all public utilities' capital spending and 7 percent of total capital outlays by all U.S. businesses. If 1979 nuclear outlays declined by one-half, conservatively conceivable in the event of uncertainty—no less a moratorium—it would result in a real absolute decline in total 1979 capital outlays for the economy as a whole—that is, it could very well aggravate the recession already forecast for late 1979 and touch off a major depression that would not stop at U.S. borders.

In either case, corporate capitalism would find itself threatened by economic crisis, social unrest, and political movements challenging its very existence. Carter is therefore choosing a "Waterloo" in the farther future over political popularity and mortal danger to the corporate order in a nearer future.

He is also choosing a course protective of the nuclear weapons industry, since a defeat for the "peaceful atom" would make the technological base and continued popular support for nuclear weapons increasingly precarious. And, since a non-nuclear U.S. could jeopardize alliances abroad considered necessary to making the world safe for multinational capitalism, he is choosing imperial strategy over the country's welfare.

This brings us to the emerging popular anti-nuclear movement—or what might be called the movement for the solar reconstruction of America. Unlike the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which sought justice for a certain segment of the population, and unlike the anti-war movement, which was directed to "foreign affairs," the anti-nuclear movement is directed immediately at domestic affairs touching the very structure of American society, affecting the deepest interests of all Americans, with the potential to challenge conventional party politics as never before since the 1850s.

Commoner put it well when he said at the May 6th rally that the energy issue is forcing into the center of American politics the "choice between the two ghostly parties that every four years rise from the dead to borrow our votes, and a new live party, a party of our own." Whether that choice emerges in the transformation of one of the existing parties or in a "third" party, remains to be seen. ■

LETTERS

WHOSE BODY IS IT?

WHAT A PERVERSION OF SOCIALIST theory for Richard Stiltz (*ITT*, May 2) to suggest that my body and reproductive capacity are not really mine but belong to the whole community. He obviously believes he has the right to keep me from getting an abortion. Would he also claim the right to rape me? Rape/sexual exploitation and no-choice on abortion are secular and religious versions of the same game: the reduction of a female human being to her physical function against her will by the use of violence, the violence of attack, harassment or denial of medical care.

Jean Peterman
Bowling Green, Ohio

ATTRACTING THE UNCONVERTED

THE DEBATE IN YOUR PAGES ABOUT women's issues has tended to ignore some important things.

First, the great strength of *IN THESE TIMES* is the absence of rigid dogma or political line. Unlike most left groups in the U.S.—both old and new—*IN THESE TIMES* has approached every issue with an open mind and a willingness to allow differing views to be aired. This is absolutely necessary if leftist movements are to break out of their isolation and attract new supporters.

The only way to attract those not already converted is open debate on every relevant issue, not to end discussion because some individual or group is offended that their values might be questioned.

In this light, *IN THESE TIMES* was correct to air a debate on the right to abortion. Many working people who may be potentially sympathetic to socialism, feel quite strongly that abortion is murder. Rather than denounce *ITT* for opening the issue to debate, feminist critics could have spent their time more fruitfully analyzing the reasons why anti-abortion has significant working-class support, and taken advantage of the opportunity to win supporters to their point of view.

It ill behooves supposedly democratic socialists to promote censorship. Any idea, no matter how reprehensible, has a right to be expressed, heard and judged. Civil liberties are not merely a "bourgeois freedom" but a real condition of democracy.

I hope *ITT* continues to open its pages to the views of those both committed and uncommitted to socialism.

Al Johnson
Chicago

PRO-LIFE, PRO-ABORTION

IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, ABORTION must be free, legal, medically safe, and ultimately the sole decision of individual pregnant women. I also believe abortion is killing existing human beings, and that a decent society is obliged to nurture, not simply to refrain from destroying, living human beings. These beliefs are in clear contradiction.

Women's experience and feminist analysis reveal the inevitability of women's responsibility for and need to control our reproductive capacity. It is not a responsibility and need rooted in regarding unborn children as private property or as merely potential human beings. This need for control of life and death decisions in pregnancy is rooted in the relationship of pregnant women and the unborn—there is no other human condition similar to the reality of pregnancy. No one but she can rightly consent to or refuse to continue a pregnancy. Surely, in a decent society, abortion will be much less frequent, less coerced by outrageous child-raising conditions, inadequate contraception and oppressive sexual im-

peratives. But the conditions of capitalist patriarchy are not the only, or even the principal, ground of the demand for women's control of our reproductive capacity.

Arguments from pro-life people have often been made within a reactionary political context. They have been utterly deaf to feminist analysis of the ultimate responsibility for ourselves. But pro-life people have enunciated a fundamental material reality, too. We can choose to deny that unborn life is human in any important respect. We can choose to rank order "values" for different classes of living human beings. I do not wish to live in a society that practices that scaling. Precisely that kind of calculation about the value of different people is part of our reason to struggle against the market ideologies of capitalism. The frequent rejection of pro-life argument as irrational, at best well-meaning but deluded, is facile and wrong. These rejections seem to me to be an inability to face deeply conflicting truths about our lives.

I believe strongly that *ITT* should print letters and articles in the abortion debate—not simply to convince wavering socialists about women's right to abortion or to reveal weaknesses in socialist pro-life positions. I think it is wrong to frame the word pro-life with quotations marks and not to hear the root statement of the position. We are foolish to consider abortion a question of "private" morality; it is a question of living human beings in basic conflict. *ITT* should be part of a new space where contradictory realities can respectfully confront each other in our search for a better way to live our lives and to support other lives.

—Donna Haraway
Baltimore

YOU LIKE THAT?

YOUR EDITORIAL PAGE WENT ASTRAY in joining in the lamentation over the Supreme Court's Herbert-Lando decision (*ITT*, May 2), in which Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert won the right to ask a CBS producer in a libel case about why certain editorial decisions were made.

Network television has immense power and scope in political matters. The ludicrous "letters" segment on "60 Minutes"—the program in question—never carries replies from the program's targets, as newspapers would routinely do. No forum for polemical give-and-take exists, in fact, on a network level.

The Mike Wallace segments of *60 Minutes* are generally built around abrasive, moralistic interviews in which targets inexperienced at being grilled on the air are presented with surprise allegations or evidence. Once the cameras are turned off, afterthoughts about what else might have been said don't count.

Mike Wallace we can live with, I suppose. Eighty-five percent of his victims deserve it and his political views probably aren't much to the right of Sen. Henry Jackson's. But imagine, if you will, the exact same methods applied by someone even more objectionable. For example, I believe Sen. Jesse Helms was in television news before his election. Suppose he had Wallace's job?

CBS contends that its reasons for deleting this and that, for interviewing this person and not that person, are outside the scope of a libel hearing. You really like that idea?

—Paul Schaffer
New York, N.Y.

WAGE GUIDELINES

UNION CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS occurring nationally have two major issues to deal with. The first is the contract—securing the assurance that real ground will not be lost in double digit inflation, and that people will have adequate resources on retirement. These issues are on the floor and enjoying heated debate.

The second, not so readily dealt with, is what should the reaction to Carter's wage guidelines be within the context of unionism?

Facts: (1) inflation rate for 1978—13 percent; (2) items that cost \$100 in 1967 now cost \$211; (3) corporate profits logged in at record highs this year; (4) Carter continues to propose the deregulation of gas; (5) workers are instructed by Carter to limit their wage increases to 7 percent in order to combat inflation.

Question: Why should people who work for a living hold their wage increases to less than the inflation rate, thereby subsidizing corporate profits, again?

These wage limitations are touted as being anti-inflationary. In fact, they are highly anti-working class. The dichotomy of interests is clear. Unions should only fight for their contracts, they should also accept responsibility for illuminating this fundamental tension.

I agree with Doug Fraser that the guidelines probably will have little effect on labor negotiations, but there needs to be a response stronger than disregard.

For unions not to expose this contradiction explicitly as they are negotiating is to encourage the notion that workers are, in fact, the cause of inflation and the major economic ills of this nation.

—Deborah Dillaway
San Francisco

TONI NEGRI AND THE ITALIAN LEFT

DIANA JOHNSTONE (*ITT*, APR. 18) delivered herself of several hundred words about the witchhunt in Italy by the Christian Democrats, the Italian Communist Party, and their Italian state, against leading figures of the Italian independent revolutionary left, including Marxist theoreticians like Prof. Toni Negri. Most of what Johnstone has to say is ignorant and written with a tone of "I don't understand these accusations and arrests, but maybe there is some truth in it after all because Negri and the others hold such absurd views."

Instead of expressing solidarity against the persecution of these comrades and against the typical anti-democratic behavior of the Italian state, a position many outstanding figures of the European left, including Jean Paul Sartre and Foucault, have expressed, Johnstone conducts her own vendetta.

There is nothing ambiguous, as Johnstone claims, about the evidence against Negri, Oreste Scalzone and Luciano Ferrari Bravo, and their comrades. *There is no evidence.* The Italian prosecutor has now indicated that the charges that some of these arrested, including Negri, Scalzone and Bravo, were associated with the Moro assassination will be dropped for lack of evidence, leaving a host of vague charges that should have no place in a democratic society. These is feigned activity trying to find the mythical "Negri papers," which supposedly contain the "true" thoughts of Antonio Negri showing that he supports the Red Brigades (BR), despite his many well known attacks on that grouping. The Italian comrades remain in prison, and the heated atmosphere continues to be developed in the pre-election scheme to clear the streets of those on the Italian left who question the farce of forthcoming elections and the role of the Communist Party of Italy in defending the Italian state and Italian capital.

Johnstone regales us with a wonderful bit of 20th century logic in which she makes fun of Negri's support of "the revolt of the working class" as over against "the long-range goals of political parties and labor unions."

Johnstone's accusation that the workerist theories of Negri and the Autonomy stem from "an almost mystical interpretation of Southern Italian immigrant workers" who have "a culture where violent vendetta takes precedence over showing up on time" cannot be sustained with evidence. It is a vicious racial slur against south Italians, a slur absolutely the equal of writing about "southern black workers in the U.S. who have a tradition of cutting each other up with razor blades, while

eating watermelon, as over against showing up on time." The independent Italian left does not exalt the vendetta but rather the struggles of women, youth, the unemployed, immigrant workers, the homeless, those who do not receive adequate welfare benefits, and the growing hostility of the Italian working class to the PCI, the trade unions, and the charade of Italian parliamentary democracy.

I met Antonio Negri in 1964; I am proud to have been a co-author of a book on the working class and the state published by Feltrinelli in a series edited by Negri in which two of the authors were Negri and Bravo. I remember with pride my wonderful lunch in Padua less than six weeks ago with Oreste Scalzone and others, and I embrace my comrades from abroad now in reaffirmation of that wonderful moment of solidarity when Oreste Scalzone and I said "goodbye for the moment" outside of the restaurant in Padua where we had lunch such a short time ago.

—George P. Rawick
St. Louis, Mo.

FOR SOCIALISTS, SOCIALISM!

MICHAEL HARRINGTON (*ITT*, APR. 18) says some things that make sense. But much of the opinion reminds me of the thinking that has kept socialism from becoming a significant force in the U.S.

He writes that socialists should work with the people "for the most left variant of what is possible." This thinking is basically what has kept the left as a sickly force in this country and at the same time has kept capitalism relatively strong and resilient.

Historically, most socialists have over-emphasized liberal reforms within the capitalist system. This has been self-defeating for three reasons:

1. Capitalist politicians have easily co-opted the "liberal" programs by adopting them as their own, thus making the socialists superfluous.

2. These same "liberal reforms" have tended at least temporarily to strengthen the capitalist system, calm popular discontent and prop up the economy during economic downturns. (Although the economic situation, as Harrington points out, has changed over the past decade, there are several reforms that could still help perpetuate the system without redistribution of wealth or other relief.)

3. Many "liberal reforms" have required additional government spending or taxes. Especially because of the present inequitable tax structure, this understandably turns off many voters. (The assumption is that if liberals are big spenders and taxers then socialists must be "super big" spenders and taxers.)

Socialists need to stop proposing programs that serve to postpone the inevitable demise of capitalism. Let's allow capitalism to stand on its own two feet and fall of its own weight!

This doesn't mean socialists should stand by and do nothing. We should be involved in education and organization in many current struggles and issues. To list a few, we should support world disarmament, human rights struggles, the anti-nuclear movement and a progressive foreign policy.

—Allan Keith Jr.
Mattoon, Ill.

CORRECTIONS

In last week's issue, the photograph of Howard Cosell on the back page should have been attributed to Phil Prowse; the photograph on page 19 should have been attributed to Henry Booth House/Hull House Assoc.; and the photographs on page five should have been attributed to Dede Feldman. The photo on page two of the April 25 issue was incorrectly credited to Sam Silver—the photographer was Patrick Keilch.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SHELDON C. PLOTKIN

Harrisburg lessons: Nuclear is neither safe, nor indispensable

IMPORTANT BASIC FACTS

are not being told about the nuclear disaster at Harrisburg. It is tragic that a disaster is required before the general public can begin to be given the proper facts and their implications. ¶The basic operational safety problem—so vividly demonstrated at Harrisburg—is multi-mode failures, i.e. simultaneous failures of two or more components. Nuclear plants

are reasonably protected for any one failure, but it's impossible to protect against every multiple failure situation.

At Harrisburg, a critical failure occurred in the secondary inlet water pipes, which come from the nuclear core primary section and go to the secondary or output steam section. This should have triggered the emergency core control rod mechanism, as it usually does, plunged the cadmium control rods in between the nuclear fuel rods, thus stopped the fission reaction.

A failure of the core control rod mechanism at Harrisburg appears to have prevented the complete shutting down of the heat producing nuclear power core. The

failure may be simply a changed fuel rod geometry caused by excessive heat so that control over the distorted sections is not possible. The large quantities of heat still being generated may be coming from uncontrollable sections of the nuclear core.

If this analysis is correct, complete system shutdown, as the company says they are attempting, may be technically impossible because additional control rods cannot be inserted between the melted section of the fuel rods to stop fission reactions. The only possibility at this point would be somehow to supply sufficient cooling to the core to reduce temperatures long enough for the repairing of the water



pipes, pumps, leaks, and other damage. Then the only reasonable long-term stable condition would be to keep the plant operating at 25 percent capacity (more if necessary). The energy in those melted fuel rods will take several years to be used up and the plant finally shut down.

As for other nuclear power plants, the occurrence of simultaneous failures leading to catastrophic consequences is all a matter of time and chance. It is a statistical problem in which the basic reliability factors are not all known. For example, the melting of control wires at the Brown's Ferry nuclear reactor was not anticipated, nor was production of hydrogen gas in large quantities at Harrisburg. Other nuclear plants, if operations continue, will certainly have one or more disastrous failures in the future.

For 490 reactor years of experience and 70 nuclear reactors on line at present, the one disaster at Harrisburg tells us that we have one chance in seven or a 14 percent probability that another disaster will occur next year.

Nuclear power plants can indeed be made safer by spending more money in their construction. However, the direct cost of nuclear power plants, not including long-term waste disposal, operational health hazards, normal taxation, or future development costs, is already about 25¢ per watt more expensive than a clean burning coal plant and 50¢ per watt more expensive than a wind generator (compared on the same basis).

Long-term energy requirements dictate that eventually we must supply energy economically from sources that are not only renewable, but also do not pollute the environment. There is essentially no disagreement. The point here is that nuclear power does not fit into our energy future, even though it absorbs the "lion's share" of our R&D expenditures.

While we desperately need systems and techniques that contribute to our long-

term goals, the nuclear industry is absorbing most of the money, engineering talent, and equipment. Possible alternative energy systems cannot get the R&D support they require because the nuclear industry is consuming most of what we can afford.

We could double our energy supply by merely a combination of conservation and burning of solid waste. However, a wide array of alternative energy sources is available in addition. Solar energy sources include the ocean thermal gradient, mirror array power towers, photovoltaic cells, and space and water heating/cooling. Geothermal sources include hot brine and direct steam. Ocean water energy includes tides, wave motion, and steady current flow. Biomass includes alcohol or methane generation from organic material like urban and rural waste, algae, and kelp. Wood products are available in some sections of the country while other areas have other resources. Fuel crops can be grown in many places.

Finally, it is of utmost importance to note that the electric power industry already claims to have a 30 percent reserve capacity. Therefore, a complete shutdown of the nuclear power plants (that supply only 13 percent of our present electricity) leaves a 17 percent reserve capacity. This is true without even touching the 20 percent conservation source achieved by Los Angeles during the previous "gasoline shortage" and easily matched elsewhere. Thus a 37 percent reserve capacity could result within a few weeks with zero nuclear power contribution: a 7 percent increase in reserve capacity rather than a 13 percent decrease.

Therefore, nuclear power plants can easily be shut down across the nation and should be shut down for the health and safety of us all.

Sheldon C. Plotkin is a Los Angeles systems engineering consultant, and formerly a Senior Engineer with RAND Corp.

WILLIAM BURR

West German Socialists pushing OSTPOLITIK toward a new 'Rapallo'?

LAST SUMMER A RUMOR APPEARED IN THE WESTERN press that doubtless raised the hairs of Carter administration policy-makers. It concerned alleged negotiations of German Social Democratic party (SDP) general-secretary Egon Bahr with Soviet diplomats regarding a possible West Germany disengagement from NATO in exchange for a non-aggression agreement with the Soviet Union. The agreement could serve as the possible basis for German reunification. ¶The Bonn Foreign Ministry disavowed the rumors, but not before President Carter's security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was quoted as disparaging this German effort at "self-Finlandization."

Statements in favor of German unity from significant quarters of the SDP cast doubt upon Bonn's disclaimer. So do recent rumored comments by Soviet diplomats that if the U.S. is going to play its "China card" in the game of world politics, the USSR has little choice but to draw its "German card." Feeling menaced to the east by the Chinese, with the U.S. and Japan in the background, Moscow can be expected to consider coalition-building with the Germans, a favored partner in past moments of international insecurity.

The degree of Soviet interest in German unity, developments in NATO, and internal political conditions in Bonn will determine the pace of any projected design for German reunification and neutralization. However long it takes, the implications are of enormous significance for European socialists, West and East. The result could be a united socialist Germany and favorable political conditions for socialism in the rest of Western Europe,

which would represent a major defeat for the U.S. in the Cold War.

The background to the current West German situation helps clarify leading motives of the nations concerned with the German question.

In 1947 when they had given up trying to reach a settlement of European questions with the Soviet Union, American State Department officials decided that a divided Germany would be more useful to their program for global capitalist stability than a unified one. Under a reunited Germany, they reasoned, there could be two alternative political results: either the revival of an aggressive nationalism hostile to the West or a unified labor movement which would take the nation in a socialist direction.

The underlying American fear was that a politically outcast and unified Germany would turn toward the Soviet Union as it had in the 1922 Rapallo treaty. Another "Rapallo" would decisively shift the balance of power in Europe toward the Soviet Union and shatter U.S. planning for European capitalist stabilization.

George C. Marshall, Dean Acheson

and President Harry Truman decided that the integration of a West German government into a broad Atlantic community through the Marshall Plan, and then through NATO, would better serve the security and stability of international capitalist development. In their view, reunification would come at a later date on terms favorable to the U.S.

American planners viewed the tighter economic and military organization of the West, centered upon a revitalized industrial West Germany, as crucial to the reconstruction of European capitalism. By pushing the Europeans to create a common market, and through other measures to restore international business, American leaders hoped to guarantee export outlets and access to raw materials for West Germany, thus taming the economic nationalism that had been such a problem historically.

Through adherence to NATO, West Germany would give the alliance added strength in the effort to develop the "situation of strength," which the State Department thought would eventually compel the USSR (and socialism) to retreat from Eastern and Central Europe.

Soviet leaders wanted a relatively weak Western Europe that could pose no threat to its security. They were particularly concerned that Germany never again become a military power. They offered various neutralization proposals during the 1950s to split Germany from the developing NATO bloc. Though the USSR had a secondary interest in the diffusion of socialism, its primary objectives were strategically defensive. But Washington interpreted the USSR's new sphere of influence in Eastern Europe as an aggressive act against the American universalistic conception of world order.

Christian Democratic Chancellor Konrad Adenauer saw the U.S. strategy as the best means to guarantee the future of German capitalism. But significant elements in the German SDP and labor movement saw reunification as a vital necessity for the future political strength of the socialist movement. In their view, German unity would return to the fold old SDP constituencies in the East, thus giving the party a socialist majority which it could not secure in the West.

These advocates of socialist renovation

through reunification responded favorably to the various initiatives for unity and neutralization that came from Moscow, but as long as their minority status excluded them from power, they were unable to change West German policy.

When the SDP finally came to power in coalition with the liberal Free Democrats the '60s, Chancellor Willy Brandt inaugurated *Ostpolitik* to normalize relations with the East. This policy shift at a time when the USSR was reaching military parity with the U.S., and when rising inter-capitalist competition made the old Eastern markets more attractive than ever. Brandt's *Ostpolitik* was quite successful. In 1970-73, it resulted in treaties with Moscow, Warsaw and Prague, a new agreement on the status of Berlin and a general relations treaty with East Germany. West Germany received concrete benefits from its new diplomatic tack: It became the Soviet Union's biggest business partner in the capitalist world. *Ostpolitik* was the forerunner of Nixon's detente.

But detente's economic fruits were unable to stabilize class relations in West Germany. Class conflict has reached levels that suggest a departure from the post-war years' labor acquiescence in capitalism—a departure implying dramatic foreign policy changes.

The dimming prospects of European capitalism have led German labor leaders to doubt collective bargaining alone can meet workers' needs. Strikes have become more combative than previously in the post-war past. This has led some observers to suggest that German workers were following the British pattern of industrial action. There is evidence of a renaissance of socialist thinking in the labor movement.

In response to the corporate initiative to shift income upwards through rising unemployment, the president of the Trade Union Confederation (DGB), Heinz Oskar Vetter, responded in late 1976: If the market system cannot bring us full employment, should we not consider new social arrangements that can. At its 1977 convention, the DGB called for nationalization of key industries, banks and insurance companies.

Though the German labor movement

Continued on page 17.

PERSPECTIVES

Pope brings old dogma face to face with conflicts of the modern world

By Joe Holland

POPE JOHN PAUL II RECENTLY ISSUED HIS FIRST ENCYCLICAL letter, titled in Latin "Redemptor Hominis" (Redeemer of Humanity). Released March 15, the document represents the new Polish pope's first major programmatic statement. As such, it provides clues to the role he will play in global Catholicism. It also contains hints to his attitude toward the conflict between capitalism and socialism. The letter attempts to locate Christian faith in Jesus within the context of "authentic humanism." The occasion is the close of the second millennium with the approaching year 2000 and the growing awareness across humanity of social crisis. John Paul's key theme is that faith is a servant of human dignity, not a distraction from it. He unfolds this theme in four sections.

The first section, under the heading "Inheritance," puts him in continuity with John XXIII and Paul VI as continuing the threshold of a new stage of the church. That threshold brings a new consciousness to the church as it tries to structure itself with a "universal openness" as an institution formed in dialogue. Underlying this dialogue which reaches out to all the world is the Christian doctrine of the incarnation, namely the belief that God took human flesh in Jesus. For this reason, the Pope stresses that the church finds Jesus only in humanity. But while he is strong in his personal confession of Jesus as redeemer, the Pope points toward all spiritual energies in the human family, especially Islam and Judaism, as human treasures.

This stress on spiritual cultural energies responding to economic and political crises may be a special note of the new Pope. The British journalist Peter Hebblewhite conjectures that this stress may come from the Pope's early confrontation with repressive technological power in the Nazi occupation of Poland (in which 2,000 priests were killed along with the Jews). Certainly under later Russian domination, the Polish church's only defense has been its spiritual power. The power of spirit to undermine repressive force is an intriguing theme. The insight

parallels the judgment of many secular commentators that the contemporary ground of social struggle is increasingly cultural.

The second section addresses the mystery of redemption. Quickly, however, the Pope links the spiritual with the social. Progress reveals the groaning of creation disclosed in social crisis. In response, he tells the church that faith shows how precious humanity is and that the fullness of faith does not draw back from anything which justice requires. He clearly places the religious mystery at the heart of the struggle for human dignity. A key theme here and throughout the letter is the stress on the person, not in the sense of liberal individualism, but as the ultimate source of human dignity.

The modern world.

The third section, describing the situation of the modern world, is the Pope's first attempt at concrete analysis. It is interesting that it comes after the faith section, going against a trend in Latin American Liberation Theology where reflection on faith flows out of social analysis. His approach is conservative, using doctrine rather than history as the point of departure, but his message constantly breaks beyond conservative boundaries.

Regarding ideology, he makes no explicit reference to capitalism or socialism and pictures the church as beyond every ideology. By contrast, many contemporary theologians have argued that the church always breathes some ideological air, simply as part of its "incarnation"

in the social world.

The Pope seems to oscillate between an abstract concern with humanity's problems and subtle but pointed references to concrete situations. He critiques "both sides" (presumably capitalism and communism) as being humanistic ideologies which nonetheless fail to respect human dignity, grossly violate human rights, are imperialistic in geopolitics, threaten us with ecological and military self-destruction, and yield technological creations which in alienation turn against humanity.

Yet he says the corrective to our crisis should be rational and honest planning, within the framework of an "authentically human" plan. The reference to planning suggests socialist insights. Next he refers to the poor of the world, where while some consume too much, others die of starvation. Here he grows strong and says the present economic structures of the world are incapable of remedying this situation. While some draw maximum profit, others pay the price. He calls for the "indispensable transformation of economic life," and censures the arms race and the spread of arms as a new form of imperialism.

Next he turns to the state and the modern experience of totalitarianism, which he has known personally. He was active as a young factory worker, poet and actor, and underground student in the resistance against Nazism, and later as a bishop was a defender of workers and intellectuals against the authoritarian Polish state. He insists that the state is the servant of society and people, not master, and that respect for human rights is indispensable. He praises the UN for its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But his special concern is religious freedom.

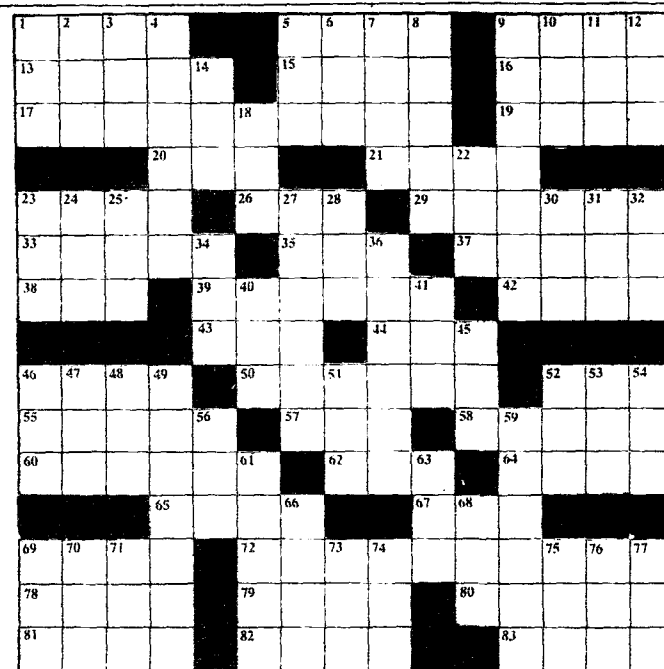
Cramped humanism.

He begins a moving defense of religious

freedom and charges its curtailment is a radical injustice in the human experience. It is helpful to recall here that 90 percent of the Polish people are practicing Catholics, while the Polish state harasses and even represses the church in public life. If his prior remarks seemed aimed heavily at capitalist societies, these are aimed more at communist societies. The tales of religious harassment and persecution across Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are many and long.

The fourth and last section addresses the role of the church in response to the preceding reflection. It is interesting that he treats the church last, after the mystery of faith and the human condition. He thereby signals that the church is a servant of these two, not their master. Yet it is here that his reflections do not measure up to what preceded. He argues for a strong traditional church, like the one which has proved the mainstay of popular resistance in Poland. Yet many will argue that the model of the highly traditional Polish church, while admirable in its context, is not adequate for the West or the Third World. Here is the confusing paradox of the humanist pope still caught within the boundaries of his roots. Whether he can maintain those roots and still be open to the complexity of the rest of the church is the major question before him. My hunch is that he can, but that it will not be easy.

A final note. The encyclical—at least in English translation—is too long, endlessly repetitive, filled with sexist language and full of boring, convoluted sentences. This makes it somewhat unusual, however, for it is clear he has written it himself. Where other encyclicals were the polished product of church scholars and bureaucrats, to which Popes signed their names, this one is certainly his own personal message. The decision to skip over the bureaucracy and speak his message directly may tell a lot about his style. ■



Presidential Vice

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 Neighbor of Tux.
- 5 Peter or Ivan
- 9 "Nasty" pro's first name
- 13 Warning sound
- 15 Split
- 16 "Good for what..."
- 17 Cheer for the undicted co-conspirator, or jeer!
- 19 Bump into
- 20 Pen
- 21 Child-rearing word
- 23 Health resorts
- 26 Noticeable rabbit feature
- 29 Runs off with
- 33 Divided at 38th parallel
- 35 Marsh
- 37 Look intently
- 38 Giant corporation or small struggling paper
- 39 Took Gerald's place
- 42 The "I" in *The King and I*
- 43 Caesar's I love
- 44 Reference vol.
- 46 Mimics
- 50 RN got this from

GRF

- 52 Number for tea
- 55 These did RN in
- 57 "___ the end of time"
- 58 "I shot an..."
- 60 Staunch RN supporter
- 62 Cleo or Fido
- 64 Found on the face
- 65 Former Brazilian
- 67 WWII org.
- 69 Tennis great
- 72 Crooked mate of RN
- 78 Matching coat and pants
- 79 "... tails you..."
- 80 French aunt
- 81 RN greeting, or political stepping stone
- 82 Rel. of etc.
- 83 Tidy

DOWN

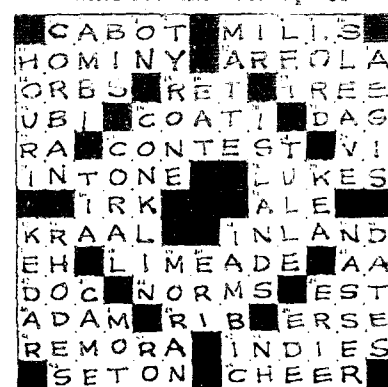
- 1 Forbid
- 2 Whiney
- 3 Latin law
- 4 ___ Point Woods, Mich.
- 5 Three, as a prefix
- 6 No. of crises of

RN, prior to 1973

- 7 Declare frankly
- 8 Dancer Jeanmaire
- 9 RN: ___ crook
- 10 GW never told one but RN?
- 11 ___ de France
- 12 Erhard's org.
- 14 Explosive
- 18 Munitions investigations senator
- 22 Smith and Jolson
- 23 Do Mansfield, at Stowe, for ex.
- 24 Kampuchean

- 25 Works of Monet
- 27 Duffing
- 28 What RN did, eventually: abbr.
- 30 Kitchen implement
- 31 Sea eagle
- 32 Black or Red
- 34 Collection
- 36 Simpleton
- 40 Crowned one: abbr.
- 41 Prefix for colonialism
- 45 Genetic initials
- 46 Jailed ___ Gen. Mitchell
- 47 Golfing goal
- 48 Prefix for dermis
- 49 Privileged information
- 51 Tear or Torn
- 52 What to do again and again, if unsuccessful
- 53 Distress
- 54 Exclamations of pain
- 56 German you
- 59 1980 rightist hopeful
- 61 Wedding walking area
- 63 Also
- 66 Common dog's name
- 68 Mother of 60 Across
- 69 Residue
- 70 ___ generis
- 71 Towel L.D.
- 73 "All I want ___ room..."
- 74 Christianity, for one: abbr.
- 75 Ind. as seen from Miss.
- 76 Airport initials
- 77 Soaked

Solution to last week's puzzle:



Ostpolitik

Continued from page 16.

is not revolutionary in appearance, it is reformist in the strongest sense of the word. The reforms it calls for are intended to bring real alterations in the balance of class power. For example, the drive for labor representation on corporate boards (co-determination) which the U.S. occupation authorities largely headed off in the late '40s (Gen. Lucius Clay thought it would lead to socialism) resumed in the '70s and led to a legislative victory in 1976.

Though some leftists and right-wing Social Democrats more readily see this legislation as harmonizing class relations, this interpretation does not explain the strong opposition of the big employers associations to this law (or their current efforts to evade it), nor does it account for the labor left's view that the law is a significant socialist reform. But the employers lost their court challenge in April, and labor unions

now have a nearly equal voice on the supervisory boards of large corporations.

The German trade unions do not have the formal linkage with the SDP that British trade unions have with the Labor Party, but they exert plenty of influence (e.g., labor leaders serve as MPs and in Social Democratic cabinets). The renewed Social Democratic interest in German reunification bears no small relationship to the recent shifts in labor politics. As they did during the 1950s, left-wing Social Democrats and labor leaders see rapprochement with the USSR and deepening political and economic relations with East Germany as a way to advance socialism's fortunes in West Germany. The "spirit of Rapallo" lives, but in a new form and with new, far-reaching implications.

Part II next week: German Social Democrats look to a new Europe.

William Burr is a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb. He is completing his dissertation on U.S. policy toward European reconstruction after World War II.

PERSPECTIVES FOR A NEW AMERICA

A workable socialism, Part I: Liberalism's ideological blinders

By Leland Stauber

THE PROPOSAL I HAVE ADVANCED FOR A NEW TYPE OF market socialism has now been the subject of scholarly debate in the pages of the *Journal of Comparative Economics*, currently edited at Yale University. The proposal appeared in the *Journal's* Sept. 1977 issue and, in brief outline, in these pages last year (*ITT*, May 3, 10, 17, 1978). The March 1978 *Journal* carries two critical commentaries, one by Prof. Susan Rose-Ackerman of the Department of Economics and Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, the other by Prof. Wayne Leeman of the Department of Economics of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The December 1978 issue carries my response.

Neither of these critics are "conservative" in the conventional American sense. Leeman himself advocates a form of market socialism, though of a different type than I propose, and both Leeman and Rose-Ackerman appear eminently sympathetic to liberal reform. Both aim hard criticism at the proposal I advance.

The debate is significant for two reasons: (1) It allows all who may be interested to assess for themselves how well a proposal for market socialism stands up against hard, critical scrutiny by current opinion in the economics profession. (2) It reveals, I suggest, a series of gaping vulnerabilities in the ideology of private ownership of big business. These vulnerabilities lie open to attack by any democratic

socialist movement that chooses to understand them and to concentrate its attack on them.

Rose-Ackerman resists my "unsupported claim that private stock ownership is an important conservative force in national politics."

To take only the simplest aspect of the matter, however, direct ownership by individuals in big business militates, clearly and powerfully, in favor of heavy concentration of wealth; and the upper wealth holders tend markedly to throw their political weight—magnified by their wealth and their influence over the directions in which corporate money is used in politics—on the conservative side of American politics, and do so both between and within the two major parties. It is fascinating to observe scholars at prestigious universities attempting to deny these elementary realities.

The key element in my proposal is to transfer corporate stock ownership from private investors to municipal government-owned investment banks.

Rose-Ackerman explores the micro-redistributive effect of the proposal on localities. She implies that she is thereby somehow measuring the proposed system of municipal investment funds against its redistributive purpose. She then argues that "local governments" are "poor vehicles for redistribution." But she fails to grasp the purposes of the system.

The immediate purpose of this system, as the particular form of social ownership for corporate business, has nothing to do with "redistribution." It is solely to meet, within the framework of social ownership, what in my view is the overriding need for the maximum possible pluralism in independent points of financial power, as a basis for competition among firms, and extensive diffusion of political and administrative power. Only by devising alternative institutions that accomplish these things effectively can what are generally regarded—in my view, by and large correctly—as crucial advantages of private capitalism be integrated with social ownership.

This achievement is a clear political prerequisite for attaining the ultimate purposes of the proposal, namely (1) the gradual expropriation of large individual and family wealth and (2) the shift in political power and political atmosphere this would bring.

Rose-Ackerman discusses the regulatory problems of the proposed system. Here she emphasizes a two-cornered game between local politicians and professional fund managers. But what is involved is a three-cornered game between local politicians, professional fund managers, and federal regulatory authorities. Basically, she understates the feasible role of federal regulation of the local investment funds.

The problems of national government regulation of local public bodies are, I suggest, not basically different from those of government regulation of private bodies. Yet in the existing system, securities markets and private financial institutions must be regulated by government in any case. Why, then, should we not replace individual investors in business corpora-

tions with locally-owned public institutional investors?

Leeman argues the system might be lacking in dynamism because risk-taking investment might be dependent upon "risk-averse government officials," and he fears power would be excessively centralized, with the national government having a "near monopoly of risk taking."

But what is relevant is not simply spontaneous propensities of political officials at the various levels of government, but the fact that there would be incessant political pressures for public risk sharing from corporate executives and local interests themselves, as there is in our existing "private" system. Leeman is silent on this point.

These pressures, further, would impinge upon all levels of government—federal, state, and local—as they do in our existing system.

Leeman seems to understate the pressures for public risk-sharing and the diffusion of power and multiplicity of sources of venture capital that would be, not only entirely feasible, but predictable.

Michael Harrington, at the recent Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) convention in Houston, confessed he has been fearful of raising the issue of social ownership because this arouses too much fear. But this illustrates how socialists have been trapped by their own prejudices. We need a type of social ownership that would be economically sound and would remove public fears of it.

With such a conception, socialists could then liberate themselves from their own fears and hence from liberal apron strings. Socialists could then participate in liberal struggles but with the aim of educating liberals in the benefits of social ownership of big business.

We could then work to attract the constituency of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, with or without its present leaders, to the organization of a new major party committed to social ownership.

Part II next week: "Towards a Socialism That Works: Against Left Romanticism." Leland Stauber is professor of political science, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. A member of DSOC, he is the author of the forthcoming book, *Market Socialism and the Problems of Control: A Reappraisal of Practical Experience*.

BOOKS

Hess' folksy fantasy flunks political test

COMMUNITY TECHNOLOGY

By Karl Hess
Harper & Row (Colophon Books), N.Y.,
1979, \$2.95

By Arthur Levy

The libertarian argument for smallness and localized control is an appealing one. Countless attempts at a self-sufficient community have been made and have failed.

Karl Hess' idea of a technology controlled by the community it serves is a noble one. His fantasy of a folksy, colorful, cooperative Washington, D.C., in 1984, with self-reliant, cohesive neighborhoods using appropriate technologies to fulfill their needs and make their lives comfortable and satisfying, is rather magnetic.

The idea of returning to people real control of their own lives through cooperative neighborhood planning is all well and good, but demonstration projects and dissemination of information accomplish little in and of themselves.

This book fails in the same way that past attempts at community self-reliance have failed. It does not take the next logical step needed for success—to politicize the concept of people controlling their own lives. As a society, we have too long been exposed to the selling of the "American Dream" of comfort, ease, and plenty, to reject it; this is especially difficult for those who have just attained it or have not yet quite made it. It's like the story of the woman who used to wash clothes in other people's homes—she worked and saved—now she has a washer and dryer

of her own, and she's told she is wasteful, the machines use too much water and energy.

People don't want to "fashion new lives based on new knowledge and new skills" unless they are already quite sure who they are and what they are. Hess disparages the quest of blacks for an understanding of their heritage without himself understanding that such an ethnic history is critical in developing a local as well as a national political consciousness. Probably the major factor that has allowed some of the Native American efforts at community to be successful is that they are based on the history and traditions of Native Americans and impart a strong sense of ethnic identity to the members of the community. Those of us who are secure in our ethnic heritage tend to overlook this basic sense of need in those who are attempting to regain and understand their ethnicity; but real freedom can only come about when there is political involvement within a cultural equality.

So long as we turn inward without attempting to politicize, so long as we produce food without attempting to restructure the agribusiness system, so long as we look for different and appropriate sources of energy without attacking the private control of the utilities and other energy sources, so long as we set up information networks in our community without addressing the corporate control of the major means of communication—the major institutions of the society will let us be, to play our ineffectual games.

If we learn anything from our own history, it is that the purely personal, the mud hut existence, the stoning of Amer-

ica will not and can not work. Small-scale salvation is doomed to failure. We chase the dream in Washington, D.C., we chase it in West Virginia, in Vermont, in the Lumbee Nation, without attempting to deal with the issues that affect us.

We become products of our cynicism. The politicians are power mad, so we avoid them and we avoid all semblance of political organization. The large and not-so-large corporations are corrupt, so we reject that mode of organization. Finally, we are left with our own personal vision of what is "good" and "proper"; we attempt to live out that fantasy, and we fail. We fail not because the vision is not correct. We fail not because the other people and organizations are evil. We fail because we do not link our major personal efforts with the community at large. We so want to reject or stand aside from

the corrupting forces that we reject any suggestion that our behavior might mirror them.

So long as we personalize our experiences without reaching out to take control of the institutions that affect our lives, our efforts will continue to fail.

How do we make the leap from a personalized experience in living together to a true community effort? What kinds of action should be taken so we can regain control over our own lives? If Karl Hess is willing to live his ideal and attempt to write about his own personal experience—fine, but what we really need to know is how we can use that experience to develop a meaningful political movement.

Arthur Levy is a research fellow at the Energy Research Center, Syracuse Research Corp., Syracuse, N.Y.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

BUILDING THE LEFT

Coming out as a socialist in Tucson

By Norty Wheeler

RAUL GRIJALVA IS VERY POPULAR in Tucson. In November the Arizona community re-elected him to a second four-year term on the local school board. And the board then chose him as their chairperson. Though the local establishment considers him a nuisance, they failed to mount a conservative challenge, he finished second, running against two liberal women for two seats. In a recent desegregation suit, he was the only incumbent who spoke up clearly for equal education for minorities. During a September teacher strike, he was the only board member who supported the teachers' demands. On both issues, he called for more parent and community input into policy decisions. And in both cases, he seemed to gain voter support.

The following is an exclusive IN THESE TIMES interview with Grijalva:

Tucsonans perceive you as being one of the most radical local political figures. And yet you were re-elected in a year when several moderately liberal incumbents and favorites were defeated. How do you explain this apparent contradiction?

We concentrated in working-class areas. Labor mailings were sent only to union members. We worked the minority community very, very hard; worked women's organizations very hard. All that paid off.

We found this too: Anglo and suburban voters knew who Raul Grijalva was, and their choice was either yes or no and we didn't have that many undecided. I am the first Chicano minority person ever to be re-elected to the school board. Others have served, but they have never been re-elected. And that was an impetus for us.

In Tucson, Ariz., progressive politics are not dead and they're not buried. We don't have to come up with Democratic candidates that are as conservative as the Republicans.

I've read that Spanish-Americans will soon be the nation's largest minority. Yet at a national level, they don't have the visibility that blacks do. Do you foresee new developments in Chicano politics?

It's inevitable. The only question is what kind of Chicano politics will emerge in the '80s. Chicano politics are having an internal war over who is going to come

into ascendancy. A lot of Chicano politicians emerge from a nationalistic view of their community and their needs.

Progressive people in general—non-Chicano leftists—have got to realize that strain runs through Chicano politics. Leftists should accommodate to that and understand and be sensitive to it.

The problem we have is that the most enticing thing that Chicano politicians have is the Democratic Party. They offer us things. And they co-opt us very easily by making us part of their institution. Then we become the house Mexicans or the house blacks. That's bad. Chicano politics can be a progressive force in this nation, particularly in the Sunbelt. The Native Americans have a strong national presence, through AIM and through some of the things they've done. Chicanos don't have that. We certainly don't have it to the level of blacks.

We're at a critical stage in the development of our politics. It could be a progressive and enlightened political movement, or we can get cloned in with the Democratic Party and just become part of their structure.

The Democratic Party wants us badly; they know the value of the vote. And they work under the stereotype that Chicanos are born Catholic and Democratic. The Republicans, obviously—as they did with La Raza Unida Party in Texas—will use Chicanos in order to divert votes away from the Democratic Party—for their own use. It's a tough situation.

You mentioned La Raza Unida Party. Were you once a member?

I was an active member in that party. I've only been a Democrat for two years.

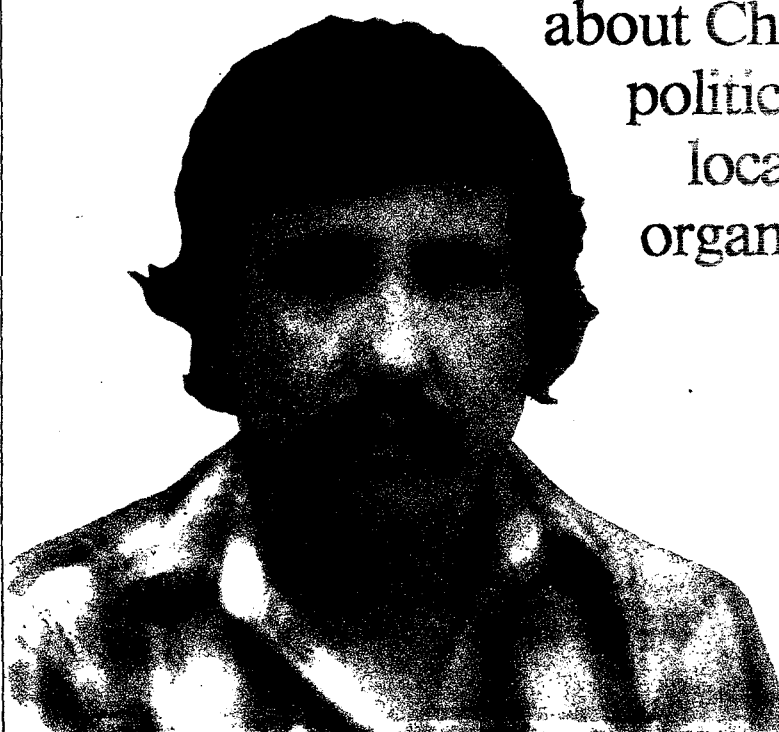
What made you decide to affiliate with the Democratic Party?

What made me register? That was really tough—one of the tough, tough things that I've done in my life was to register Democratic.

And the reason I did that is, very honestly, out of pure and simple pragmatism. I realize that elective politics is not the only means to an end—and it's certainly not the end in itself—but it is part. And if I am to be effective I have to operate within the predominant vehicle within my community, and that's the Democratic Party.

That's one. Two, while I felt uncomfortable being a part of the party of

Raul Grijalva, former SDSer, draft dodger and school board member in Tucson, talks about Chicano politics and local organizing.



Norty Wheeler

George Wallace, there was political disillusionment with La Raza Unida. Some of the wheelings and dealings that some of our national people did with Richard Nixon in '72 and '73 were disgusting; and they set our party back a lot. You know, the same thing that the party was accusing other people of doing with the Democratic Party—of selling our vote—that's essentially what we were doing.

Progressive people within the Democratic Party have always got to have flexibility. The biggest thing we should not allow ourselves to be, is to be taken for granted. We should always have that option. If Ron Dellums is to run for President as a third party candidate in the U.S., my loyalty to the Democratic Party is nothing compared to my loyalty to what that represents. The choice wouldn't be difficult for me.

Some leftists have stressed involvement in national elections, while others see more potential in local races. Could you outline your reasons for focusing on the school board?

One reason we chose the school board election is that it's non-partisan. You don't have to declare what party you're in. When I won the school board the first time, I was registered as a third party. Local races are significant as part of a base-building process. But at a national level, the function of a leftist candidate is mainly as an organizing means—to be able to contact each other and things like that. But if there's a stress and an effort to be made, it should be made at the local level.

I was struck by the breadth of political awareness, not to mention the commitment, of your campaign volunteers. What plans do you have for keeping in touch with them during the next four years?

A newsletter. A lot of personal contact. And just a lot of meetings and gatherings, and sharing some of the decision-making that I have to encounter in the next four years.

There are some really sharp people in there. One of the things we've got over the conservatives is that we're more committed. You can't use them. You always have to be open to their criticisms and to their advice. You use them and you'll never see them again, because they are

that kind of people. I learned something from the first election. I did not keep in touch with enough of the people that helped me. And I lost a number of them. I won't repeat those mistakes.

There seem to be a lot of closet socialists these days, especially in electoral politics. Can a politician come out of the closet, can he or she openly discuss socialism, without losing their base of support?

Oh man. Probably not, but I think most closet socialists are not going to have a choice. The dichotomy is going to be so sharp in the next two or three years in this society—it's going to be just a clear line: in terms of the tax situation, in terms of employment, in terms of defense funding, in terms of education funding. It's inevitable.

I'm sort of looking forward to it. I have a luxury that most don't have; I don't have to worry about an election for quite a while.

As a consequence, I think I'm going to be freer, more aggressive about what I say and what I do. I've got an issue coming before me the first meeting in January: ROTC in the high schools. You know, I'm a draft dodger. And I'm sitting on the school board. I occupied an ROTC building in 1969 at the University of Arizona. And what am I going to do? I'm going to vote no, and I'm going to lobby like hell to make sure that thing doesn't happen. Right now, see, we're all scared and we're all sort of huddled together, and that's not going to do us any good. We have to be aggressive, we have to go on the offensive pretty soon.

So you see the force of the issues as eventually pushing the question of socialism forward?

The issues are going to drag us all out of the closet. I've worked in the minority community most of my adult life. I'm a former member of SDS. Just a variety of things, you know. And that's my political upbringing. OK? There are certain things that I can't go back on. It's just very difficult to change horses in the middle of the stream. Those progressive people that survived this election are in a really good position, because they can become advocates. That's what the right wing is doing right now. They're advocating for something to the public, and we're not. ■

In "Through a Glass, Dimly" (ITT, Feb. 28), Gwenda Blair described a controversy over health hazards of ultra-modern office equipment: video-display terminals on super-typewriters called word-processors. (Low-level radiation can emanate from the video screens, and some think that cataracts are a possible result of constant use.)

A few weeks later, ITT received an unsigned poem, composed on a word-processor and printed on computer paper. An attached note identified the author as a terminal operator for a state legislature.

TERMINAL BLUES

Aggressive? you say.
Don't make me laugh.
This terminal's cut
My patience in half.
And please step in closer
Right up next to me.
For all I can tell
You look like a tree.
How long? you ask.
Well, I'd say over a year
And all during that time
They said "Nothing to fear."
"Don't be hysterical.
Don't be afraid."
Now just take a look
At the mess they have made!

My bod's full of cancer.
I've got muscle strain.
And little by little
It's eaten my brain.
My kids would be deformed
But I think it's too late.
I'm sure that I'm sterile.
I can't remember the date.
But seriously folks.
For a job that is great
Hitch up your lead screens,
And get a job with the state.

March 26, 1979

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

(Michele Rappaport (with co-producer Edward Pressman) says *OLD BOYFRIENDS* isn't a "women's film.")

Guilt goes out in drag

By Pat Aufderheide

"The nicest thing about our film," says Michele Rappaport, co-producer of *Old Boyfriends* (AVCO Embassy), "is that it hasn't been discussed as a women's film."

That's a little odd. Not only did a woman produce it, but the director was also a woman: Joan Tewkesbury, who wrote the script for *Nashville*. It's a woman's story

of self-discovery, acted by Talia Shire.

This should be news. Everybody's waiting for clues to see whether women are getting real movie-making power in Hollywood, and with what kinds of scripts. So why isn't it?

Maybe because it's really not a women's film, but yet another Paul and Leonard Schrader script about guilt, insecurity and identity crisis. The brothers originally wrote the script with a male hero;

and although the gender changed, the approach didn't. And it doesn't work this way.

Paul Schrader is one of the highest paid scriptwriters in Hollywood. His authorship goes with the critical success of films like *Taxi Driver*, *Obsession*, *Blue Collar* and *Hard Core*. On this film he was executive producer and, with Leonard, scriptwriter.

Paul Schrader, raised as a Calvinist to divide the world into the elect and the damned, the wonder

anxiously who was fated to be which, figured out at some point how to turn that pain into money. He came upon filmmaking at a time when Americans were ready to see films about the emptiness of received morality and the difficulty of locating meaning in a coldly urban world. The guilt and despair of a Calvinist childhood fell into synch with a wider sense of insecurity. His films have been peculiar successes, more troublesome than entertaining but always screaming social significance, because of their disturbed, obsessed, self-destructive central characters.

Old Boyfriends looks in some ways like a for-girls version of *Taxi Driver*. Small town kid grows up and enters the cold working world (she's a clinical psychologist), freaks out after a lifetime of repressed urges and goes on a vengeful rampage. She visits three old boyfriends (Richard Jordan, John Belushi, Keith Carradine) and hurts each of them before one (Jordan) redeems her with his unstinting love. With this borrowed strength, she can know and forgive herself.

In other Schrader scripts, women are more passive instruments of destruction for the tormented male subjects than they are subjects themselves. Innocent-decadent 13-year-old prostitute Iris precipitates the final violence in *Taxi Driver*. In *Hard Core*, the Calvinist daughter runs away to become a prostitute, ruining her father's tensely ordered small-town life.

Here, though, the subject isn't blankly innocent, a transmitter of

social decadence. The forces that trigger this woman's madness come from within her, as does her madness. The outer world doesn't menace her, say, the way the world of Times Square does in *Taxi Driver*. Instead of the modern hell of man-in-society, we get a woman who's just behaving badly.

If the movie were about a man, his vengeance on old girlfriends would be a shocking assault on the chivalric gloss of polite social life, and his salvation a reassertion of women's control over emotional equilibrium. This way, the protagonist merely confirms more socially familiar stereotypes: women are unfit for careers, and father knows best. Both versions reinforce potentially ugly sex roles, but the first is true to the preoccupations of the Schraders.

Paul Schrader seems to address social issues with his scripts; *Blue Collar* is one example. There he framed self-destructive characters in a factory environment. As he admitted in a *Cineaste* interview, "it seemed to me such a wonderfully self-hating kind of act, that they would attack the organization [the union] that's supposed to help them." He ended up with a secular version of the damned, condemned by racism to a living hell. The unresolved, freeze-frame ending was appropriate to a film that couldn't go anywhere.

Here again the Schraders' sociological eyebrows are up. And again, this static plot has no demonic interest. The Schraders changed the gender of the hero, but forgot to consider the way sex roles influence the kinds of pathology they know best.

VIETNAM FILMS

Deer Hunter stirs up confusion disguised as social controversy

By Pat Aufderheide

Weeks after its stunning collection of Academy Awards, *The Deer Hunter* continues to generate confusion in the name of controversy.

Predictably, the year's Best Picture is sitting in the number one spot among *Variety*'s top drawing films. It presently takes in \$100,000 more a day in New York alone than it did before the Oscars.

Universal's advertising relied on the Awards to ease their task. They had already found the film difficult to find a handle for. As *Advertising Age* put it, "What is this movie about? Hunting, war, love, friendship, gambling? Robert De Niro? None of the above?" Universal advertising vp Buddy Young admitted, "It presented dramatic problems from the outset." After the Oscars, ads announcing the victory continued to feature the safe but nondescript antlers. Now a new poster not much more evocative, features Best Supporting Actor Chris Walken, with three other principals.

The admen weren't alone in their search for the film's dog tag. No one seems to be able to come up with a capsule evaluation for *The Deer Hunter*. Its critical acclaim has been uneven, ranging between mystic praise and angry denunciation, with few stops in between.

Before the film was released, advance reviews and interview articles described both film and director with gushy awe. The film won the New York Film Critics Circle award. But delegations and individuals at the Berlin Film Festi-

A rustle of embarrassment passed through the audience at the Academy Awards when *Deer Hunter* was announced as Best Picture.

tival walked out when it was shown, and Cannes wouldn't have it even out of competition. Publications as diverse as *Harpers*, *Take One*, *Seven Days*, the *L.A. Times* and *ITT* have published negative reviews.

The very people who voted the film Best Picture—Motion Picture Academy members—seem to have fierce ambivalence toward it. As the award was being announced, reported an L.A. journalist whom the *New York Times* described as "sensitive to industry nuances," a "rustle of embarrassment" went through the auditorium.

"It was as if you had proposed to a girl," he said, "and were horrified when she had accepted. I had the peculiar feeling that—if the ballots had gone out one week later—*The Deer Hunter* wouldn't have won."

Not everyone at the ceremony was merely embarrassed, of course. Some were outraged that a film about Vietnam that blatantly contradicted historical fact (by making the Vietnamese destroyers of American civilization) was treated seriously. Outside the event, 13 Vietnam Vets against the War were arrested for protest-

ing, while others, from an organization called Hell No We Won't Go Away, leafleted arriving Academy members.

Elsewhere, controversy has blossomed. Arguments center on whether or not the film's central metaphor of Russian roulette is a historical—or even an emotional—fraud.

In Boston, *The Real Paper's* Gerald Peary maintained a lonely vigil outside the theater, wearing a sign saying, "Take a Critical Look at *The Deer Hunter*." He discovered, as have others taking random opinion samples in other cities, that many filmgoers seemed to take the film literally. Further, what he found out confirmed the opinion of Pulitzer Prize winning Vietnam journalist Peter Arnett that filmgoers "are genuinely surprised and hurt when I tell them that...there was not a single recorded case of Russian roulette."

In New York, a panel discussion on WBAI radio focused on the validity of the film's emotional tone. One-time anti-war activist Carol Brightman argued the film was "empty melodrama," that it created an "artificial class, more pathetic and more puffed up than in reality."

"The Vietnam vets I've come into contact with," she said, "have a kind of shame about the war. There's a tremendous burden on these guys now to transform their experience, because they came out of it feeling they had been abused and abandoned and they absorbed a lot of the anxiety and guilt—and that's not in the movie at all."

Journalist John Hamill, who had been a medic in Vietnam, found the movie's emotional tone to be genuine. Although he had never heard of Russian roulette being played, he said, "the whole war was Russian roulette, somebody reaching down and grabbing you and saying, 'you go, and you die.'"

Was the film racist? "At a superficial level, yes," he acknowledged. "But the reality of the experience was that anybody you saw there was your enemy, your potential enemy. Anybody who thinks that apolitical Americans going into combat don't see all those people as bad people, are wrong. And anyone who thinks that anybody once taken prisoner was not abused, should disabuse himself of the notion."

Some defend the artist's right to manipulate facts—an argument that comfortably assumes the artistry of the product. Universal pictures president Ned Tanen was quoted in the *New York Times*: "Of course that specific incident didn't happen. It's a film and films use metaphors. I'm proud of the movie. It makes me feel good that people will sit through something that isn't intended as pure entertainment."

Did Russian roulette happen? Did it seem to soldiers like it did? These are specific questions, put to a film that presents no coherent framework to ask them in.

The film generates confusion (from which many find respite in simple charges of factual error) because it's confusing. Its weaknesses are its most powerful strengths. A movie without an intellectual core, it only has distress to express. It effectively ex-

presses that distress—a failure to communicate and to comprehend what one can communicate—by failing to communicate with us. And it does that by failing to set forward any system of meaning completely enough for us to grasp a point or understand a character.

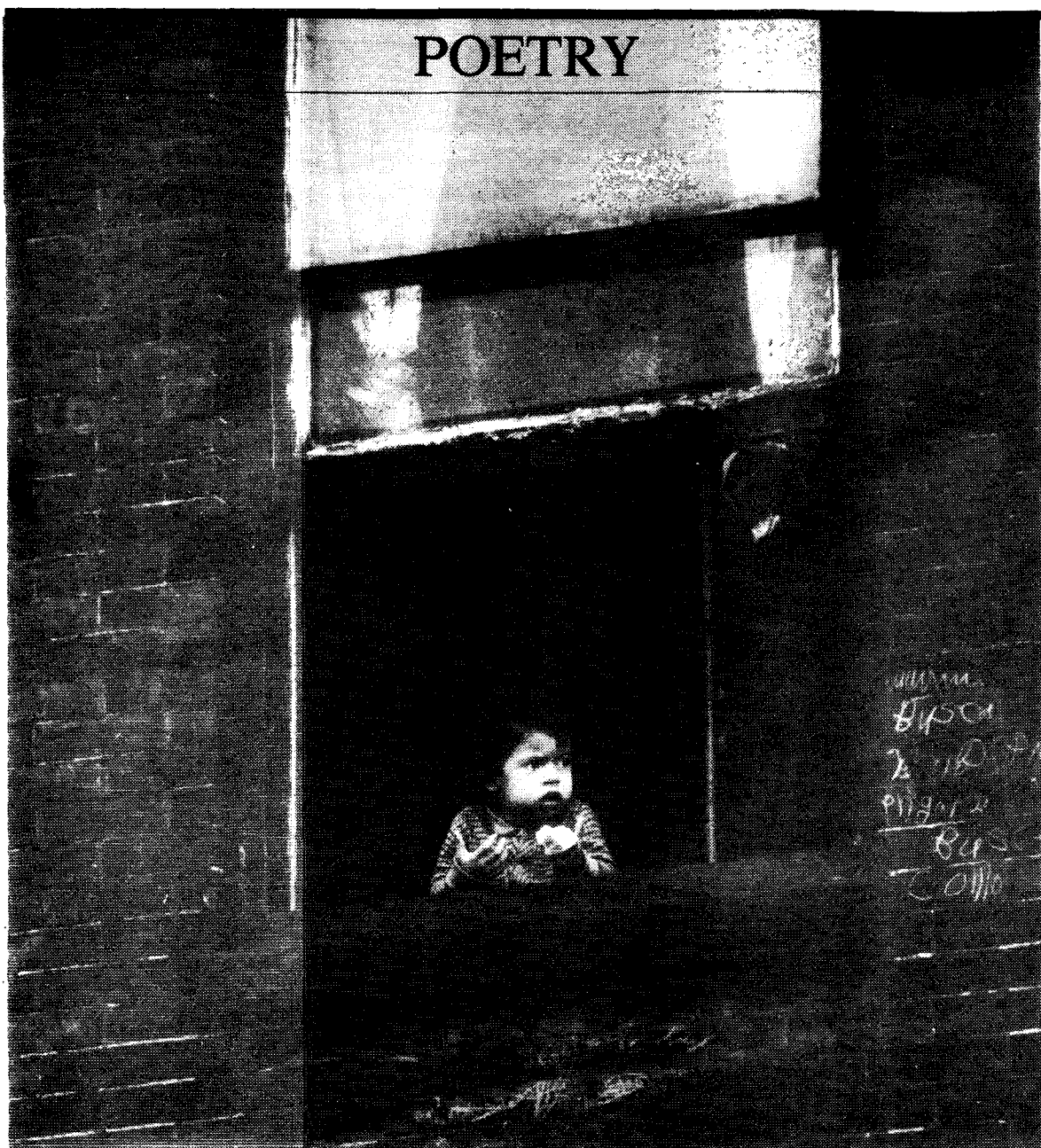
No themes unify the film, although grand vacuities like "war is hell," "the other is the enemy," "each man is an island," and problems like the nature of loyalty and tradition, the cost of civilization, the expression of men's love for each other and American innocence and isolation are all flourished at times.

Nor are there any people in the film, any individuals with human-sized emotions and motivations. The characters are shallow and archetypal; their behavior is ritualistic and private, so that we get tableaux, still tapestries of pain, rather than a story. They live in a world without history. They don't live in families and they have no future. Between the poles of the aching heart and the empty ballroom these people are lost. That's why Voight and not De Niro won the Oscar for Best Actor. Pauline Kael was right to point out that De Niro never really had a chance to develop a character, to make something of nothing.

But the very contradiction of a movie with endless 70mm close-ups and lots of action, which in fact has no characters and no interaction, fascinates. You can't help puzzling over it. Combined with the deathly violence of the roulette, the film is disturbing enough for many to make an easy connection: if it's not entertainment, it must be art. It hurts too much, after all, to be able to ignore.

If praise for *The Deer Hunter* often indulges in the mysticism that the film itself falls into, indictment frequently fails to account for the pain it invokes. The film is a troubling exercise in the problem it addresses. It exemplifies a general inability to see the Vietnam era in America as a process with real people in it.

POETRY



Ben Achenberg

The drum has survived

By Roberto Marques

CIMARRON: POEMS BY RICARDO ALONSO

Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, Conn., 1978
\$3.95 paper, \$8.50 cloth.

The barriers of our Spanish-speaking domestic Third World have, over the last decade and a half, given us a generation of poets—articulate, impassioned, unique—who accept the guiding premise of Martiniquen poet Aime Cesaire as their own: "My tongue will serve those miseries that have no tongue, my voice the freedom of those who founder in the dungeons of despair."

Ricardo Alonso is one of these poets. His book, *Cimarron*, establishes him as a new voice in a line that includes more recognized and influential poets like Victor Hernandez Cruz, Pedro Pietri, and the more accomplished of the "Nuyorican" and other Hispanic poets in this country.

The poetry of Ricardo Alonso is rooted in the experience and history of all our Spanish Harlems. It emerges from among, speaks for, and as one of the *Children of the crushed dream who fill [their] chest with fire and fill [their] veins with ice to walk the street with faces set in steel one foot on fear the other on dry bones... the rainbow fruit of [the] tropics chained far from the sun....*

But to the inevitable anger, to the facts of ghetto life, to the depiction of despair and the haunting nostalgia for "home," the poet adds a celebration of the cultural richness, the vitality that—existing in a kind of enclave—insists on its right to be; that stubbornly endures, and, enduring, will eventually prevail.

Alonso's turf is the crushing industrial landscape where the poor and unskilled from the colonies have become marginal;

where, modern slaves, their space is enclosure, constriction, confinement; where the luminosity and warmth of their lands of origin is a poignant memory that contrasts with the sombre shades and disdainful chill—spiritual and material—of their new environment. It is the stifling analog of the slave's barracoon where *Few hands can speak but the drum has survived competing with sirens for air to issue its call.*

The image of the *cimarron*, the runaway slave—the collection's central metaphor—gives historical depth and a visionary edge to the poems. The *cimarron*, quintessential guerrilla, affirms his humanity in the face of a system bent on his destruction. Analogy and symbol suggest an identity of condition among Hispanics and Afro-Americans—an identity that transcends, without diminishing, the facts of race and nationality. This gives a thematic range and scope to his verse not usually found among poets of Alonso's generation.

Suggesting as it does the inextricable tie to the African ancestor, the image of the *cimarron* also allows Alonso to show, to a degree not even Pietri or Hernandez Cruz quite achieve, the *mulatez*, the syncretic nature, of our cultures. The evocative, ritualistic and incantatory quality of poems like "Dance of the Ancestors," "Rumba Fragments," "Afro Blue" and "Cimarron" emphasize the point at the same time that they express the poet's Cuban roots and, in a wider context, his Antillean identity.

Alonso avoids the strictly private, meditative, invariably narcissistic tone characteristic of so much "mainstream"—that is, the more conventional—verse written by whites. He equally avoids the diffuse rage, anarchic mood and radically pessimistic individualism typical of some

"Nuyorican" poets. On the contrary, Alonso concludes, unequivocally, on a note of encouraging confidence and optimism. "When the morning comes," he writes, certain of its coming,

*When the morning comes
to our hills of cement
I will be there
blind
riding the teeth of a samba
snaking up the street.*

One is reminded of the combination of anguish, elegy and hope in the better known work of Nicolas Guillen and Langston Hughes from which, I suspect, Alonso draws some inspiration.

There is in his poetry a tendency to abstract and idealize the socio-cultural reality of the islands, much in the way Afro-American poets and poets from all over the Caribbean were once prone to utopianize Africa as spiritual home. Though perfectly comprehensible, this pastoralization of the tropics tends toward a romantic one-dimensionality. It oversimplifies and makes static an otherwise dynamic reality. It also, paradoxically, ends by denying what it seeks most to affirm: the richness and revitalizing fullness of "home."

Cimarron reveals a poet of experimental authenticity, subtlety of feeling and perception. It displays a talent and developing vision that, considering this is a first book by a young poet, promises much for the future.

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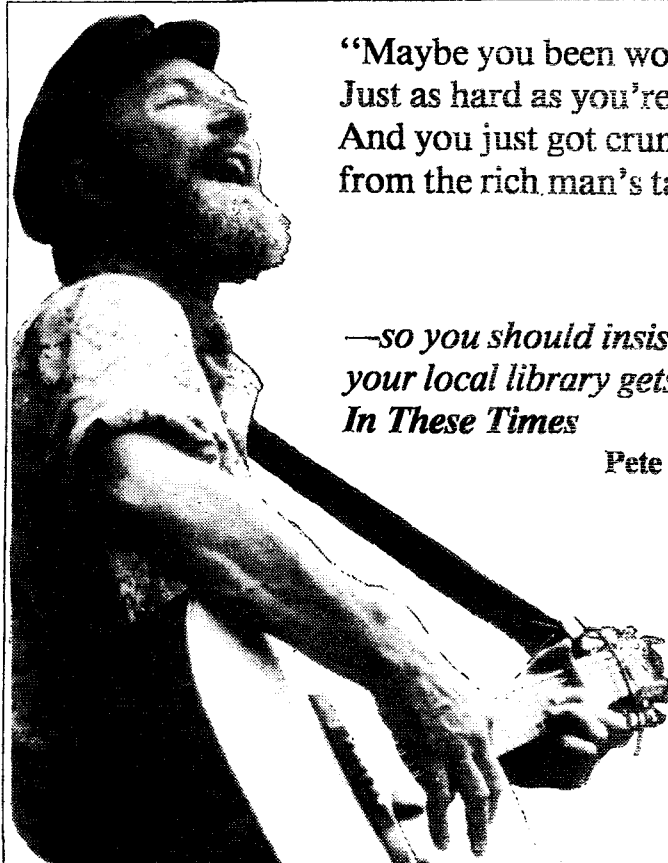
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POWERS

Continued from page 23.
a local newscast.

So, given the news organizations selected by Halberstam, his "we" (in "the way we perceive events") is somewhat overweening and, in fact, elitist in implication. Given the preponderance of small, discrete newspaper audiences, one might have thought that Halberstam would have devoted some attention to the wire services—AP and UPI. These news-gathering and news-disseminating organizations get five mentions each in his index, thereby beating mentions of the two largest-circulation daily papers in the U.S., the *Wall Street Journal* (one mention) and the *Daily News* (none at all).

Perhaps, despite his aversion to the wire services, Halberstam might have paid attention to syndicated columnists, if only to buttress the trickle-down theory he gestures toward in his discussion of Reston. Neither Jack Anderson nor Drew Pearson is mentioned in the book. Joseph Alsop, who surely falls within Halberstam's narrowest frame of reference as a man influential in Washington and sponsored by the *Washington Post*, is mentioned just three times; William Buckley once; Evans & Novak and Joseph Kraft not at all. Yet

the book is "in part...about the road to Watergate."

If there were, in fact, some animating principle—if not the one announced by Halberstam himself—to be detected in the book, some extra respect could be accorded, beyond basic astonishment at the amount of effort involved. Yet there is, in fact, a great deal less here than meets the eye. The true project of his book is the retailing of truly enormous numbers of anecdotes.

His trick is to make the anecdotal look structural. Chapters on CBS give way to others on the *Los Angeles Times* that in turn surrender to passages about the *Washington Post* and *Time*, before once again Halberstam circles back to CBS. These ramblings are themselves divided into four sections and crowned with the dignity of "Epilogues."

None of this seemed to make too much sense, and in the end I took a knife and hacked the proof copy apart and reassembled the pages into four separate narratives about the four organizations under discussion. Everything at once became rather simpler: four rather gossipy profiles, with some general reflection about the relationship of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon to these mass media thrown in for good measure.

Each of Halberstam's "fair" cross-samples did well, in his account, during Watergate. The *Washington Post* started the expose, promoted it at another cru-

cial moment, *Time* helped to polish it off. What Halberstam is really doing five years after the event, is to give the press a final cheer. Despite all, *the boys came through when it really counted.*

In his hasty accounts of the negotiations between the various reporters and their Watergate sources, he might have at least sketched a portrait of press power as but one element in a larger pattern.

But Halberstam never embarks on such analysis because—for all the grandiloquence of the title of his book—he has very little sense of what the power of the press actually is. In common with most journalists, he usually exaggerates it, suggesting at one point that Harry Luce's obsession with Chiang Kai-shek engendered McCarthyism. In his lengthy accounts of the shifting news coverage of Vietnam, missing dramatis personae include virtually the entire antiwar movement within the U.S. In Halberstam's vision, John Reed would probably be the chief actor in the Russian Revolution.

Nothing odd in all this, in 1979. Eisenhower said a long time ago that journalists are not as interesting as they think they are. Today—Ike's sensible view in disrepute—Halberstam has sagely ratified the new star system. His unctuous narrative, halfway between Edna Ferber and corporate history, should scarcely displease the parties involved.

This article was excerpted from a longer piece in the *Village Voice*.

AND I LIKE IT

Continued from page 24.

that you're working all your spare hours, and some of your days, to go and fix things for nothing. And you run yourself out of a living.

Those who manage to achieve the most will be the ones who have a fairly ruthless line on benefits. And Rock Against Racism is fully aware of that. They're enthusiastic amateurs running it; they're not professional entrepreneurs. They can charge less on the ticket and still pay the band a decent, living wage.

The audience tonight was your audience to begin with, the people who came were both familiar with your music and supported your politics. What would happen if you were singing to an American rock audience that didn't know your music?

You should have seen Stockton [Cal.] last night. Perhaps two people in the audience—one in the back and one in the front—went "Martin!" [TRB performs a song called "Martin," in which the audience is supposed to shout "Martin" right after Robinson mentions the name.] It was very much starting from scratch, trying to make something of it. You've got about 200 people here in a place that holds 800 and they're here on spec. It

was uphill work and hard struggle and they were embarrassed to clap and dance and stuff. We made something out of it, and it wasn't a disaster. We came back and did two encores.

As a rock band, you look for different ways to reach people politically?

One of the things I've got for gay pride week is a disco single, but I can't get it released in Britain, let alone over here. All this shit about how record companies pressure artists into making commercial singles is bullshit, 'cause this is a smash, killer-diller, wonderful single. I got Elton John to write the music, I wrote the words. I'm definitely into using the means to justify the ends.

Do they think the song will ruin your image?

I've got all kinds of paranoias from the record company, indeed, from the rest of the band and the management. It's a sad state of affairs when you're worried about what you think people expect you to do, rather than what you're gonna do. Creativity is stone dead if you've gotten into repeating a formula, especially a formula like "protest." Their word, not ours. That's the way they engulf it and contain it and box it and render it harmless.

CLASSIFIED

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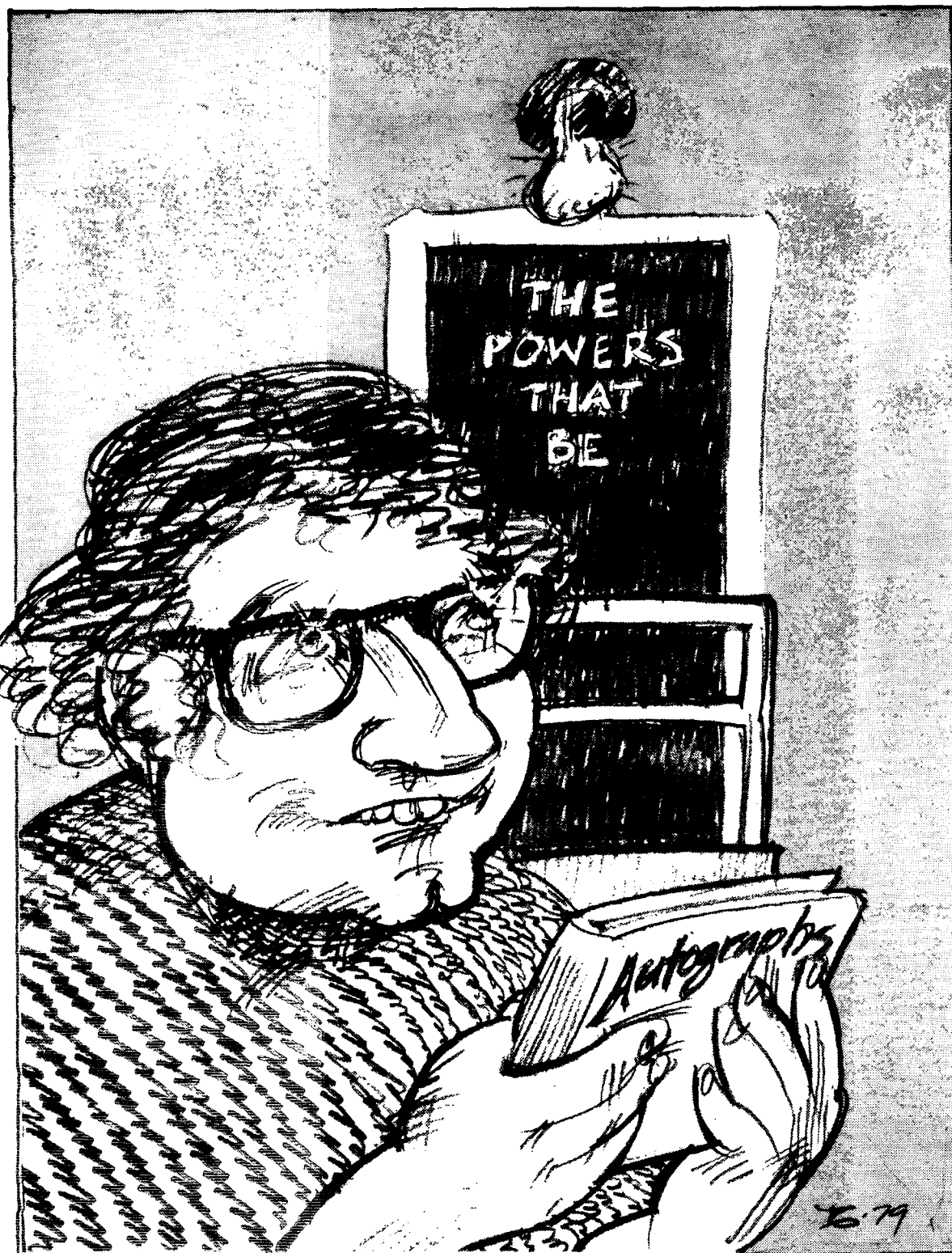
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BOOKS

Halberstam, panderer to the "powers that be"

By Alexander Cockburn

THE POWERS THAT BE
By David Halberstam
Knopf, \$15

David Halberstam is the laureate of size, the apostle of the superlative. The English language, for him, is not so much an instrument of orderly communication as a club with which he bludgeons the reader into complicity and submission. The vulgarity of his prose surely expresses a vulgarity of outlook. If the definition of a gigolo is a man who has an instant erection at the sight of a \$10 bill, then Halberstam enjoys similar instant distension in contemplation of those he deems to be powerful, or sagacious, or merely—so all-embracing is his esteem—good at their jobs.

The mode here is essentially pornographic. Pornography, the simple kind, is big on size: vast member, cavernous orifice, apocalyptic climax. Halberstam's technique is much the same: reader-arousal by invocation of titanic credentials; reader-satisfaction by recitation of titanic deeds; reader satiety ultimately relieved by any finale of narrative or cerebration is offered. It limps to a close, spent and snarled, and the reader totters out into the dawn, pausing to contemplate the guest-list at the orgy proudly displayed in the acknowledgements.

In its presentation Halberstam's project echoes the pornography of size and compulsive effort. The photograph of the author on the back flap displays the direct stare and manly open shirt of "the journalist." In the acknowledgements is to be found the list of those whom he interviewed during the five long years of research and composition. No less than 521 persons, questioned on the average for 90 minutes to two hours; many of them, Halberstam says, "saw me five and six and seven times." And to underline the intensity of his efforts to produce what he casually refers to as an "immense and complicated manuscript" Halberstam stresses that "very very [characteristic pleonasm] few of the interviews were conducted on the telephone."

Nor is that all. "I have also read for this book virtually all the books on the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations, as well as all the Watergate memoirs, and virtually the entire shelf of Vietnam books as well."

And thus a book purportedly explaining "how Luce's *Time*, Paley's CBS, the Grahams' *Washington Post*, and the Chandlers' *Los Angeles Times* became rich and powerful and changed forever the shape of American politics and society" lumbers onto the stands, courtesy of Knopf (a division of Random House

owned by RCA, which owns NBC) and the Book-of-the-Month Club (owned by Time Inc., which owns Little, Brown, which publishes Atlantic Monthly Press books, whose magazine arm, *The Atlantic*, ran three "major" excerpts). Later it will be auctioned for mass paperback where it could conceivably be bought by Fawcett (owned by CBS).

Halberstam's book is not so much about a problem (mass communications and their effects) as it is the problem, an enactment of most of the ill-effects of mass communications and mass marketing between two covers.

Personality is history.

For Halberstam, personality is history. This is not surprising in so addicted an interviewer. Some evocation of his approach to personality is therefore necessary.

The almost invariable technique is to anoint each new participant in the narrative with superlatives, so that the reader is suitably softened up. In the case of William Paley the hosannas start with his father, Sam. Sam Paley "was a man of great driving energy and a genuine skill in the blending of tobacco...." After this *introduction*, the hosannas: "Bill Paley...very simply, he merchandized more products for more different companies and sent out more different entertain-

This book is not about a problem—mass communications and their effects—so much as it is the problem.

ers on more different programs, than anyone in the history of mankind. His was one of the staggering success stories of the American 20th century...a towering figure...in the savage, predatory his-world of broadcasting not just the first, but the best.... Paley's own sense of aesthetics was eerily fine and instinctive. He was the kind of man who could walk into a room and, with precious little formal training, always pick out the finest painting or the most valuable antique in that room." And of course, "Bill Paley was tough, that above all."

A man who writes like this, as I.F. Stone once remarked in another context, need never lunch alone. Sometimes Halberstam is so impetuous in the allocation of ecstatic emotion that it is slightly unclear who is responsible for the sentiments being described.

"Katherine Graham," he writes, "feeling shy and awkward, took Ben Bradlee to lunch in order to find out what he wanted to be when he grew up. She was, of course, totally charmed by him—the intelligence, the laughter, the candid quality of his intense ambition."

What are we to assume here? Perhaps we may conclude that Graham, interviewed by Halberstam, confided that "Of course I was totally charmed by him—the intelligence, the laughter, the candid quality of his intense ambition." Or perhaps Bradlee, also interviewed by Halberstam, said, "She was of course totally charmed by me—the intelligence, the laughter, the candid quality of my intense ambition." Or perhaps Halberstam simply felt so certain of his ascription of emotion that he pipes up confidently for all three parties.

This pornography of praise comes to a head in Halberstam's description of Otto Fuerbringer. That Fuerbringer, former managing editor of *Time*, was an ignorant, prejudiced brute is evident and made explicit throughout the narrative. The sins of *Time* are laid to his door in almost equal measure as they are to his master Luce's. Yet once again bigness conquers all:

Otto Fuerbringer "was the most controversial man within *Time* magazine, immensely influential, perhaps the most influential conservative of his generation in journalism.... No one doubted his professionalism, which was of the highest order. His technical skills were legendary.... He was a strong man in a strong job.... He was a superb technician.... He was, in that very complicated and difficult job, like a masterful air traffic controller, he knew where the big stories were but he never lost sight of the minutiae; he plotted the course of 30 stories in his mind all at once and fitted them all together under terrible deadline pressures. He was probably the best single technician in *Time*'s history. And even his critics felt his sense of timing on cover stories was terrific."

He made his trains run on time.

Writing and thinking drivel.

To discuss and criticize the press and its role in society requires a number of skills, natural or acquired: some theory of power, some vision of history and—at bottom—some sense of language. Liebling knew when he was reading a bad sentence, could conclude that the thinking behind the

bad sentence was bad, that the man who employed the bad thinker writing bad sentences might be bad and that therefore the entire enterprise itself might be bad. Liebling, unsurprisingly, wrote well.

Halberstam does not know when he is writing drivel, which means that he does not know when he is reading drivel or thinking drivel, either. A clue to these rather serious deficiencies is that the book is almost entirely devoid of humor. Solemnity—not to be confused with seriousness—is an almost unfailing clue to the fact that the espouser of this solemnity has got things wrong.

"It began," Halberstam says in his acknowledgements, "as a small idea in 1973 and it grew, constantly changing incarnations. At first it was going to be merely a book on a television network and the presidency; gradually it evolved into a book on the rise of modern media and their effect on the way we perceive events. In selecting the four institutions that have the major role in this book, I tried to give as fair a cross section of the national press as I could. I chose CBS because it has traditionally represented the best in broadcast journalism; *Time* because among national magazines it reflects something special in the American character; the *Washington Post* because it has become a serious national newspaper and because this is in part about the road to Watergate; and the *Los Angeles Times* for those reasons and also because it played so large a part in the career of Richard Nixon."

It is hard to think of a statement of intent more fraught with absurdities. Halberstam does not say that he is writing a book on some modern media—a task that could therefore reasonably exclude the U.S. Postal Service, AT&T, and other media as reasonably beyond the author's purview. No, the book is about Modern Media.

In the U.S. in 1977, there were 1,580 newspapers, 7,982 radio stations, and 718 television stations. If, indeed, we were to think of mass media as those mechanisms that deliver advertisers access to consumers—a chastening but fairly accurate description—we find that direct-mail advertising revenues are over 14 percent of the total, with television at around 20 percent and newspapers just under 30.

Halberstam could have further qualified "modern media" by adding "those at least with 'news' in them." This would exclude billboards and direct mail. But in this case he would still have some explaining to do in the context of his remarks apropos "the way we perceive events." Who, in this case, is "we"?

Perhaps he means the average American newspaper reader. The average circulation of an American newspaper in 1978 was 37,571. Most Americans read small circulation newspapers, and the inhabitants of those cities with populations between 25,000 and 50,000 are the heaviest readers of all. *The Daily Diet of News*, the report of a national poll taken by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau in 1978, estimated that 69 percent of the population read a newspaper, 62 saw a newscast and 49 heard news on the radio. Of the 62 percent who saw any daily news on television, 30 percent watched only

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IT'S NOT ONLY ROCK AND ROLL

Tom Robinson talks to *ITT*

By Bruce Dancis

About a year ago, over 80,000 people attended a march and rally in London to protest the increase in British racism and the growing neo-fascist movement. It was the largest anti-fascist rally the country had witnessed since the '30s. The staid *LONDON TIMES* wrote that the event was "notable for the participation of many thousands of teenagers in punk rock styles."

The rally, co-sponsored by Rock Against Racism, featured one of Britain's leading new rock groups, the Tom Robinson Band, also known as TRB. Robinson is an activist and musician who combines hard-driving rock'n'roll with a commitment to socialism and gay liberation. The band's first album, *POWER IN THE DARKNESS*, came out last year on Capitol Records' Harvest label (Capitol itself is a subsidiary of the British-based EMI Records), and has been followed up with the nearly released *TRB TWO*.

Both albums have been filled with up-tempo rockers, with a bit of British music hall thrown in, about a wide variety of political and social issues. With other left wing British bands like the Clash, X-Ray Spex, and Stiff Little Fingers, TRB represents a turn away from a folky emphasis within left music.

Robinson is currently involved in planning London's Gay Pride Week, slated for the late June commemoration of the tenth anniversary of New York's Stonewall riots; the band regularly distributes agit-prop "bulletins" at all their concerts.

Tom Robinson met in San Francisco with *IN THESE TIMES* rock critic Bruce Dancis shortly after a concert on the first part of his band's current American tour.

In San Francisco, a year ago, somebody asked you how a socialist could be on the label of a multinational corporation. You answered in part by quoting Hans Magnus Enzensberger about the need for the left to break out of its own circles.

Right. No refuge really exists.

What are your feelings about your two years with a multinational corporation?

You learn at first hand what that involves. When we signed to EMI we weren't aware that there was a weapons division that makes armaments—it makes guided missile radar and anti-personnel mines. There's an anti-personnel thing called the "EMI Ranger." I got hold of a brochure for this and we produced some of it in one of our news bulletins.

So what do you do?

We're contracted to that company for five years. There are individuals within the company who work with us, trapped by the same dilemma. Jobs are getting scarcer, and when it comes down to the bottom line—paying the rent, feeding yourself, and putting gasoline in your car—you don't have an awful lot of choice. You can leave the job on the grounds of conscience, but somebody else will gladly fill the place. It won't prevent weapons divisions from existing. So you end up having to somehow live with that contradiction. You can't resolve it; you can only be open about it.

As Enzensberger said, you have to use the capitalist media to reach the people. And I do feel that pop music is the way to reach the people. Ideally, I'd like to be played on AM stations rather than FM stations, rather than the rarefied atmosphere. I'd rather be played in taxis, in factories, for housewives working at home.

How do you think Capitol Records is doing by you in this country?

No band ever likes its record company. It always complains and bitches and moans. No record company is ever pleased by the way a band responds to it. But give credit where credit's due. They've put the album out and it's got its sleeve notes on it and they are uncensored. It took a month extra to get it out because they had to have legal clearance on everything. But they put it out. They've got behind the tour and they've done promotions.

Capitol has been slow to bring over some EMI acts to the U.S., but they seem to have decided they can sell TRB in the U.S.

It's interesting that the first album came out without any problems, because it was much more narrowly defined as to what the band was about. It was very much about issues specific to England. Definitely, as one's horizons have expanded, the writing on the second album has gotten much wider in its scope. We've tried to keep the out-and-out "propaganda" more to the liner notes. We've tried to keep the music wide in appeal, so that people can relate to it in terms of a general rather than a specific struggle—say, gays in England at this moment.

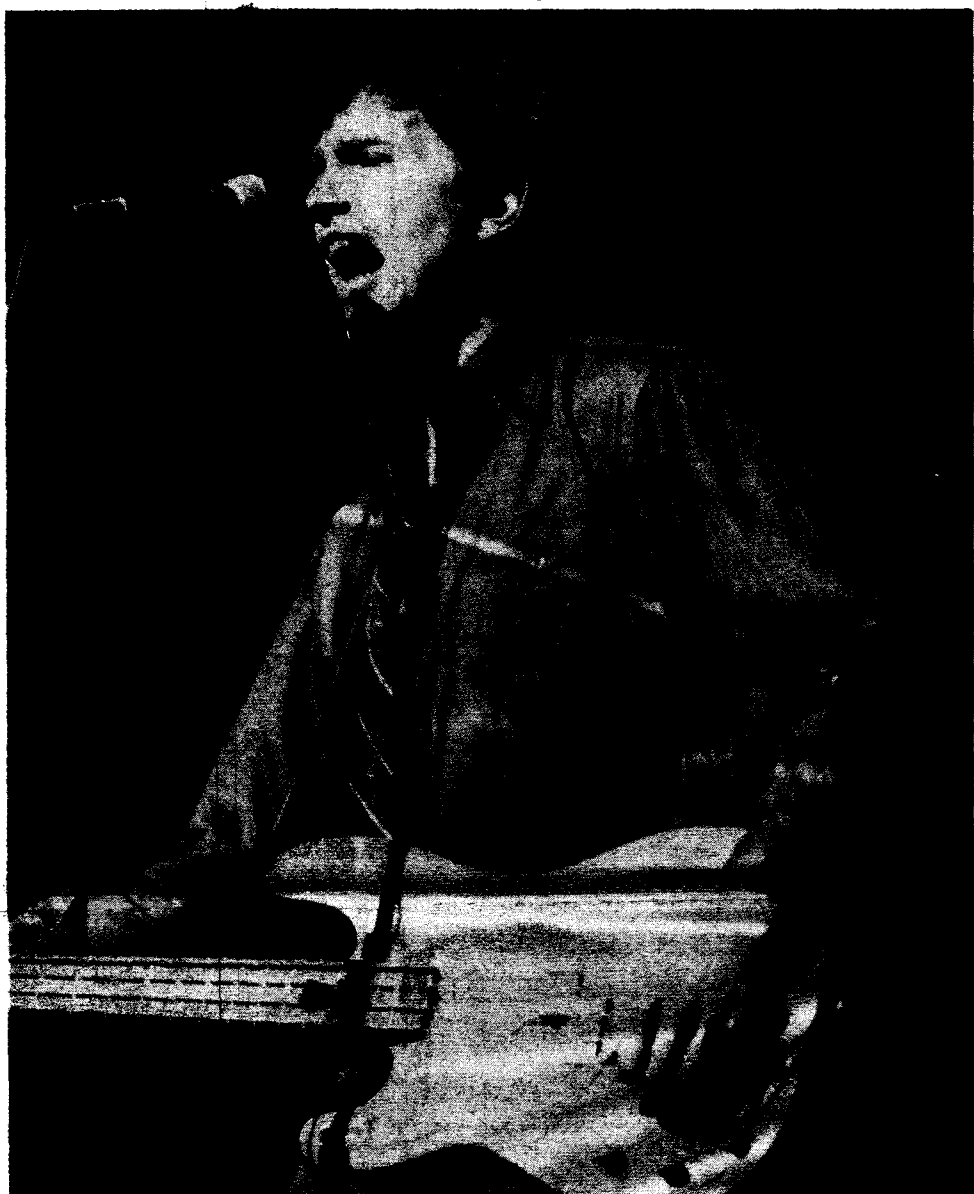
Gay people all over responded to "Glad to Be Gay," despite the particular British references.

They did and they didn't. Gay rock'n'roll fans responded to it, but the vast mass of out gays didn't, which is fair. We're a rock'n'roll group and we're playing to a rock'n'roll audience, whatever the hell their color, or sexual orientation, or class. If they like rock'n'roll, they're our audience. If they don't like rock'n'roll, too fuckin' bad.

The liner notes for your new album list the names and addresses of many progressive organizations in this country. How did you decide on the groups that were listed?

Two friends of mine prepared lists ranging from the basically bourgeois kind of thing like save the seals, save the whale, the kind of things that people can leave covenants to in their wills and get tax relief from subscribing to, like Amnesty International—which isn't to knock them; they do valued stuff and it's all part of the general front—right through to the Panthers and the Anarchist Party [of Canada]. I found the crossover areas and from there on in really had to take their word for it. But it looked good, as far as an uneducated Englishman, unaware of what the situation actually is, could tell.

Buying an album is not a political act. Going to a concert is not a political act. And there's a tendency, because of the way rock'n'roll is geared, for people to be encouraged to feel that simply by going to a concert and raising their fists in the air and singing along the lyrics to a



certain song they're making a strong political gesture, which they aren't. They're making a gesture of fashion and a musical gesture.

There is a feeling of solidarity that comes out of that, that does break down barriers between people. We are purveyors of rock'n'roll. The biggest contribution the band can make is by widening peoples' perception within a rock'n'roll framework.

Do you think more groups ought to be attempting to encourage action, the way your liner notes do?

I feel that if somebody is doing something, even if you disagree with the way they're doing it, if they're basically on your side, you should support them—like the Village People, for instance. They perceive that they're widening the thing for gays—I'm not about to go out there and say that I don't think the Village People are doing it in the right way.

I'm gonna say I do it a different way. If my way proves more successful or more fruitful than theirs, fine. And if theirs proves more fruitful than mine, fine.

What I like about Rock Against Racism is that it is action by the people, for the people, at a grassroots level. It doesn't have a big central office or a bureaucracy. It only has four people in London who work in the office, and they print the posters and the fanzines.

If somebody in the north of Scotland wants to put on a gig, they get in touch with London, London sends them the posters, and then up in the north of Scotland they organize it. They get a local band, and they get lists from London of black bands who are prepared to come up and play. And they put on the first black band to ever play in the north of

Scotland.

Rock Against Racism USA seems to be growing fast. I hope it isn't growing too fast.

What about transplanting something that comes out of specific conditions in Britain, a reaction to Eric Clapton's statement? [Eric Clapton said that he supported Enoch Powell, conservative anti-immigration MP, because he didn't want England to become a "black island."]

Let me misquote Voltaire for a moment. If Eric Clapton had not existed, it would have been necessary to have invented him. He was—let's be honest—an excuse, because the runaway success of Rock Against Racism was far more than just a direct reaction to some stupid, drunken remark by some sopped musician who's made his reputation ripping off black licks.

The remarks themselves were a useful trigger to get a thing going, because there was a need at that time for people to be able to express their dissatisfaction at the growth of racism in a positive way.

You seem more positive towards Rock Against Racism than you were when you were here last year. It was my impression that you had felt a bit burned by sniping on the left. You said you didn't want to be seen just as a "benefit band."

Sure. But that's a different ball game from Rock Against Racism, because they're fully aware of the "benefit band" syndrome. It's a terrible trap. It's the trap that anybody who is committed at all to anything radical falls into. If you're a plumber, a comrade's going to ring you up next week and say, "Can you come and fix the pipes in the party central office, please?" And then soon you find

Continued on page 22.